ANTOINETTE THE THIEF?

Scandal that rocked the French monarchy

HISTORY OF PRIDE

ALL ABOUT HISTORY

AZTEC EMPIRE

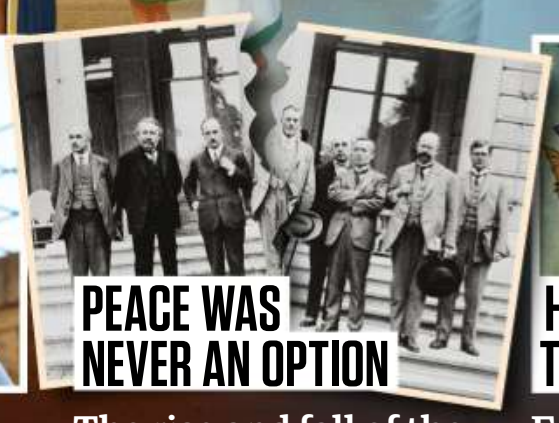
How nomadic tribes united to create a Central American superpower

SYRIAN WARRIOR QUEEN

Woman who challenged Rome and conquered Egypt

FUTURE OF HISTORY

James Holland and more predict legacy of 2020s



PEACE WAS NEVER AN OPTION

The rise and fall of the League of Nations

HALLOWEEN TRADITIONS

From Samhain to trick or treating and pumpkins

FUTURE

ISSUE 121

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A mural by famous Mexican artist Diego Rivera of the Aztecs in the National Palace, Mexico City

Welcome

Among my earliest memories of learning about history is a short period as a child when we were taught about the Aztecs. It was likely just after a short course on the Egyptians and before we dug into Henry VIII and his wives, and I remember being very taken with the vibrant, gory tale. If I'm perfectly honest, I didn't think much about the Aztecs after that. Thankfully, one of the great benefits of my role is that I finally get to immerse myself in these long-forgotten interests, and what an incredible world the Aztecs offer.

For our cover feature this issue we've looked to open up the Aztecs to you, giving you an insight into how they built an empire, how their powerful kingdom was managed and how they came to have such an iconic military structure of Eagle and Jaguar warriors. It's a subject that has so much to reveal and I think we've delivered a great entry point for you.

Also this issue, we've spent some time thinking about the future as well as the past as we teamed up with the Wolfson Foundation and a panel of historians to discuss the future of history. How will people remember our era? How might technology change historical study? How damaging will misinformation be to creating a clear version of events? We ponder these questions and more in a fascinating conversation. I hope you enjoy that and the rest of the issue.

Jonathan Gordon
Editor

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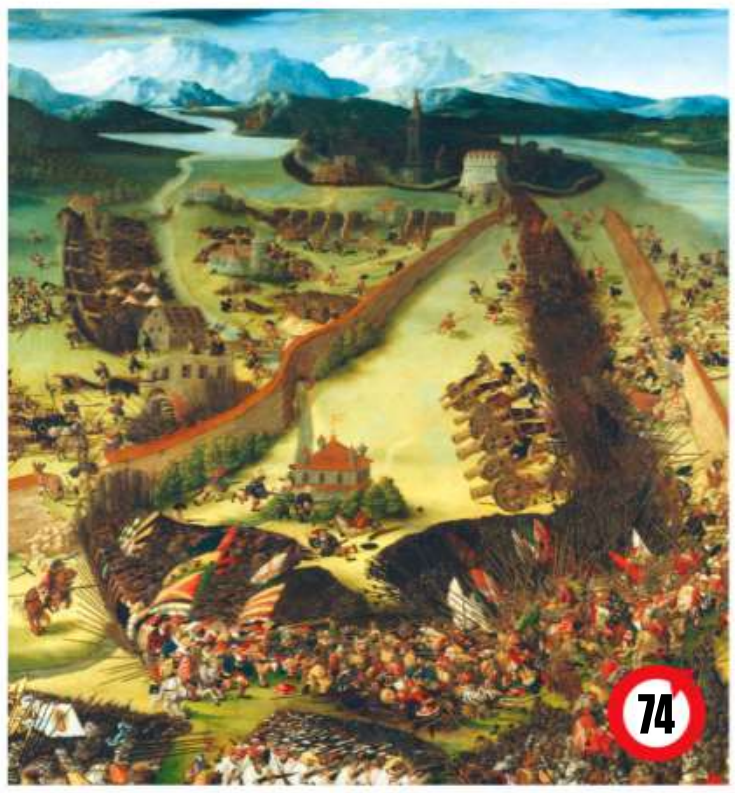

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Aztec Empire

How nomadic tribes united to create a Central American superpower

Defining Moments

© Getty Images

19 September 1991

ÖTZI THE ICEMAN DISCOVERED

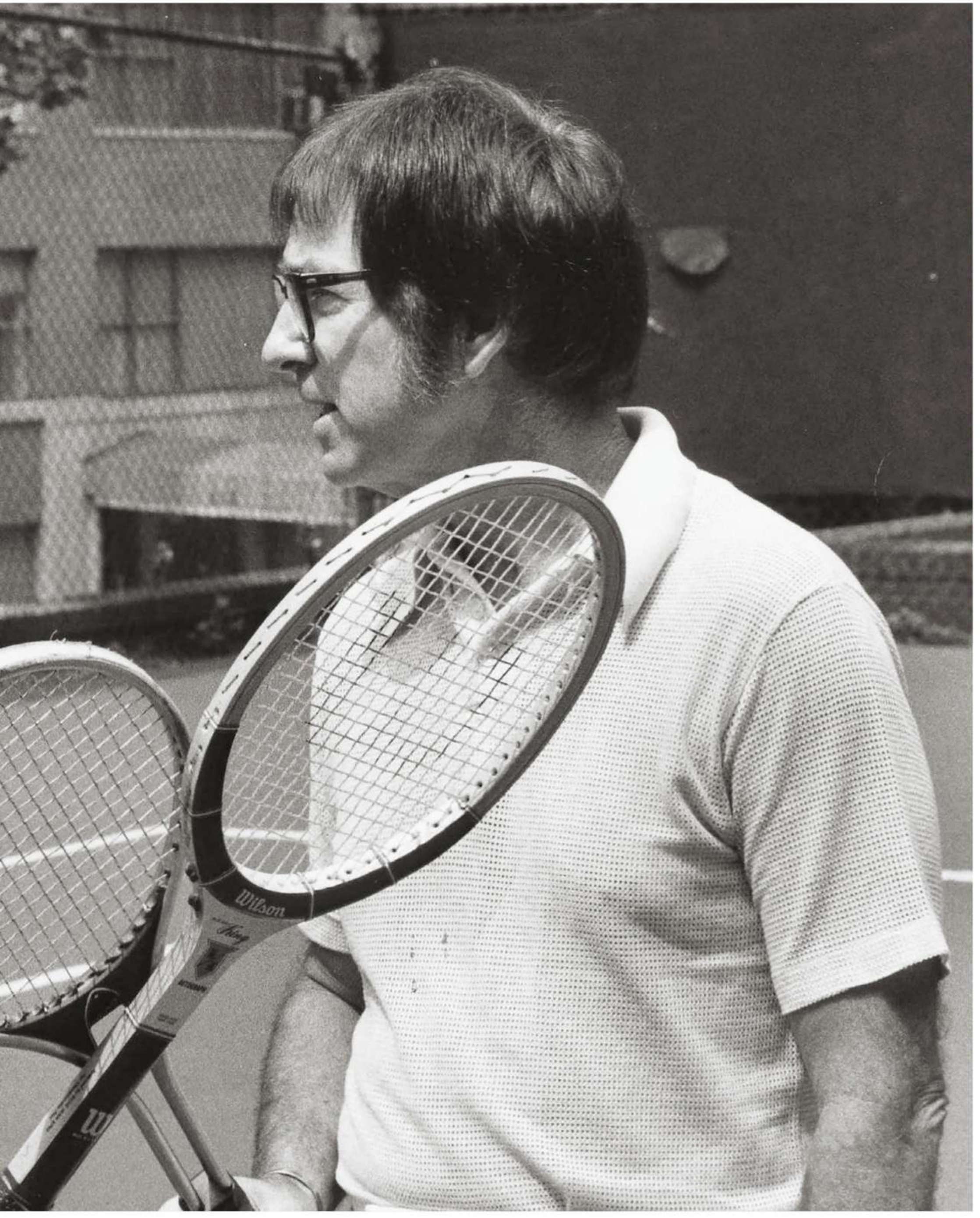
Discovered accidentally by two hikers in 1991, Ötzi the Iceman's body had been preserved in the ice of the Alps, on the border between Italy and Austria, for over 5,300 years. It is believed that Ötzi had been travelling across the Alps when he was murdered, and his body was mummified by the ice. Ötzi had lived in the late Neolithic period, making him older than Stonehenge and the Egyptian pyramids. He is now housed in the Museum of Archaeology in Bolzano, Italy.

© Getty Images

20 September 1973

‘BATTLE OF THE SEXES’ TENNIS MATCH

The ‘Battle of the Sexes’ match between top tennis players Billie Jean King and Bobby Riggs was a highly publicised event with over 50 million TV viewers. Riggs had claimed that, at the age of 55, he could still beat the best female tennis player because the women’s game was inferior to the men’s. King, who was aged 29, beat Riggs in straight sets to win the prize of $100,000.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The successes, failures and ultimate demise of this groundbreaking peace organisation explained and examined

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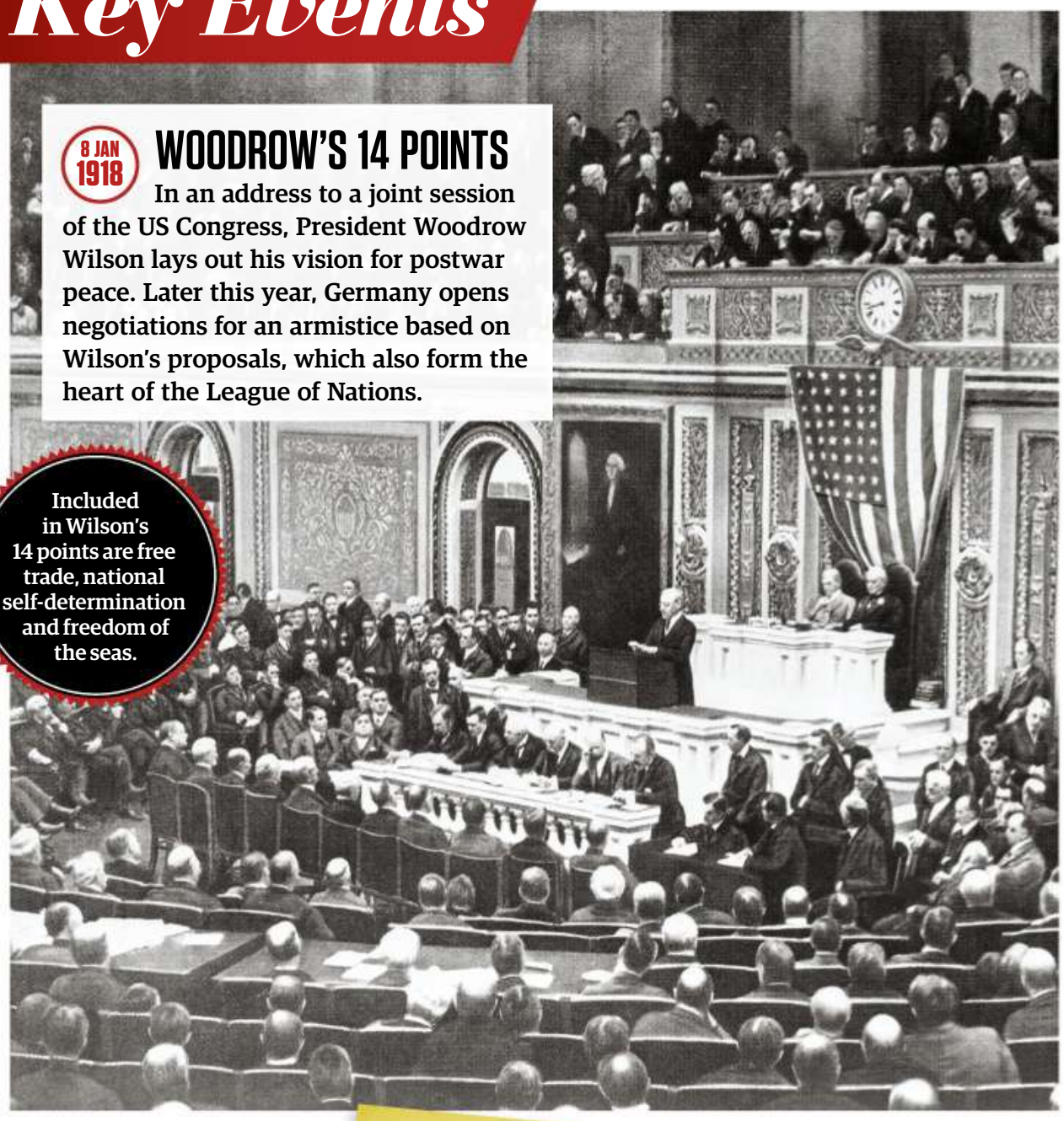
MAKING AND BREAKING THE LEAGUE

Written by Jonathan Gordon, Callum McKelvie, Emily Staniforth

Main image: © Getty Images

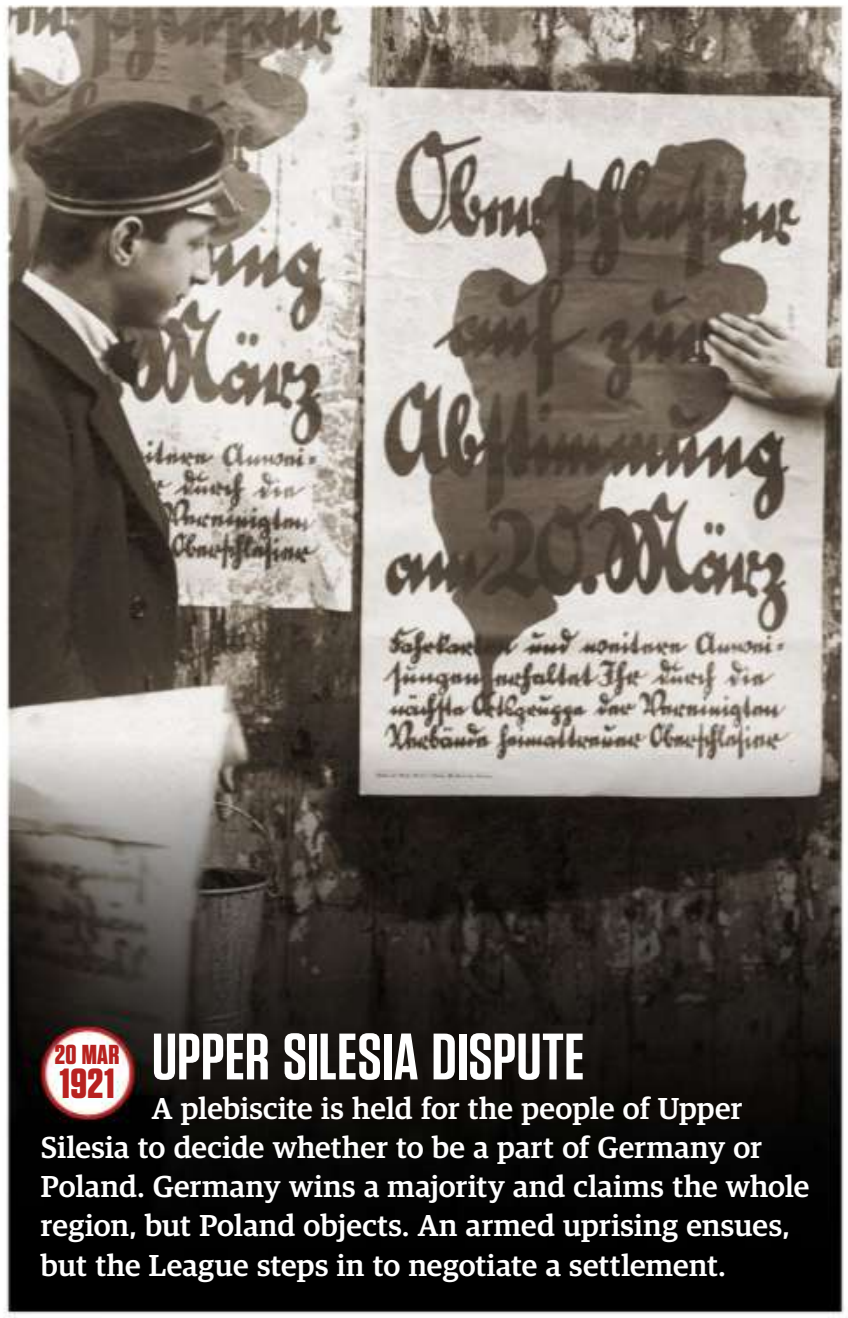
Key Events



8 JAN 1918 WOODROW'S 14 POINTS

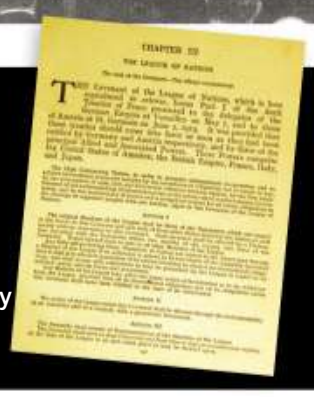
In an address to a joint session of the US Congress, President Woodrow Wilson lays out his vision for postwar peace. Later this year, Germany opens negotiations for an armistice based on Wilson's proposals, which also form the heart of the League of Nations.

Included in Wilson's 14 points are free trade, national self-determination and freedom of the seas.



20 MAR 1921 UPPER SILESIA DISPUTE

A plebiscite is held for the people of Upper Silesia to decide whether to be a part of Germany or Poland. Germany wins a majority and claims the whole region, but Poland objects. An armed uprising ensues, but the League steps in to negotiate a settlement.



COVENANT APPROVED
18 APRIL 1919

The Covenant of the League of Nations, based on Woodrow Wilson's '14 Points' address to Congress, is approved unanimously by the Paris Peace Conference.

SENATE REJECTS THE LEAGUE
16 JANUARY 1920

Opposition to America joining the League of Nations, led by senator Henry Cabot Lodge, unifies against Wilson to block ratification of the United States' membership.

FIRST ASSEMBLY
15 DECEMBER 1920

The first sessions of the League Assembly, which features representatives from each member state, meets in Geneva. The Assembly lasts until 18 December.

8 JAN 1918

TREATY OF VERSAILLES
28 JUNE 1919

The Treaty of Versailles, which includes the Covenant of the League of Nations, is signed. The terms are ultimately much harsher on Germany than Wilson's original proposals.

LEAGUE MOVES TO GENEVA
1 NOVEMBER 1920

Having started life in London, the League moves to its new permanent home in Geneva, Switzerland. Its first home is renamed the Palais Wilson in 1924 after the US president.

20 MAR 1921

CORFU INCIDENT
29 AUGUST 1923

Italian General Enrico Tellini is assassinated in Greece leading to the occupation of Corfu. Benito Mussolini defies the League until a favourable settlement is agreed.

27 AUG 1928 KELLOGG-BRIAND PACT

The Kellogg-Brian Pact, named after French Foreign Affairs Minister Aristide Briand and US Secretary of State Frank B Kellogg, outlaws war and is signed by 15 nations. Later another 47 nations sign the pact in the hopes of avoiding another World War.

18 SEP 1931 MUKDEN INCIDENT

Japanese forces claim that Chinese soldiers tried to bomb a train in Manchuria, leading to the invasion of the region by Japan, breaking the Covenant of the League. A commission is sent to investigate, insisting the region be returned, but Japan rejects the proposal and announces its withdrawal from the League of Nations.

The invasion of Manchuria is not only a failure for the League, but also of the civilian Japanese government to control its military in the region.

25 APR 1945 UN CHARTER CONFERENCE

Fifty nations attend the United Nations Charter Conference in San Francisco, California, with 850 delegates representing roughly 80 percent of the world's population at that time. They unanimously agree an 111-article charter for a new peace organisation.

The League of Nations comes to an end on 20 April 1946 and all of its assets are transferred to the United Nations.

DAWES PLAN SIGNED
16 AUGUST 1924

Charles G Dawes proposes amendments to Germany's reparations payments to ease the burden as its economy recovers. The Reichsmark is also introduced as its new currency.

GERMANY JOINS THE LEAGUE 8 SEPTEMBER 1926

Germany is admitted to the League of Nations and is also made a new permanent member of the Council, joining Britain, France, Italy and Japan.

USSR JOINS THE LEAGUE
18 SEPTEMBER 1934

Pushed by Soviet Foreign Affairs Commissar Maxim Litvinov, the USSR is admitted to the League of Nations and added to the permanent Council.

27 AUG 1928 · 18 SEP 1931 · 3 OCT 1935 · 1 SEP 1939 · 25 APR 1945

GENEVA PROTOCOL
17 JUNE 1925

The Geneva Protocol is signed, prohibiting the use of chemical and biological weapons in warfare. Such weapons had wreaked havoc during the Great War.

GERMANY LEAVES THE LEAGUE 19 OCTOBER 1933

Following Japan's announcement earlier in the year, Germany also gives notice to withdraw from the League of Nations. The process takes two years.

ATLANTIC CHARTER AGREED 14 AUGUST 1941

Meeting at sea at an undisclosed location, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill commit to international collaboration for peace and security after the war.

3 OCT 1935 ABYSSINIA CRISIS

A border incident leads to Italy invading Ethiopia, one of the few independent African states on the continent. Mussolini rejects attempts by the League of Nations to intervene and arbitrate a peace. Economic sanctions are applied, but not effectively enforced.

1 SEP 1939 GERMANY INVADES POLAND

Having left the League of Nations four years earlier, Germany invades Poland from the west, followed by the USSR invading from the east on 17 September. Britain and France declare war with Germany, bringing conflict to Europe once again.

All images: © Getty Images

PALACE OF NATIONS

Switzerland
1929 – present

After the Covenant of the League of Nations was established in the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, the League began temporarily operating from London in 1920. Geneva in Switzerland was decided upon as the permanent location of the League, and 10 months after its formation its operations were moved there. Establishing its headquarters on the western side of Lake Geneva, overlooking Mont Blanc, the base for the League of Nations was named the Palais Wilson in honour of US President Woodrow Wilson, who had been one of the main advocates for the League's existence. The League continued to be based at the Palais Wilson for many years, until the future permanent home of the organisation was built.

In 1926, an international competition opened to find an architect for the Palais des Nations (Palace of Nations) which was to be erected in Ariana Park as the new headquarters for the League. After a long competition, the final design was decided upon and work began on the construction of the palace in 1929.

By the time the League was able to move into the Palace of Nations in 1936, the organisation was under a huge amount of pressure as international tensions mounted and key member states were coming into conflict over decision-making. In 1939 World War II broke out, meaning the League had failed in its aims to prevent another catastrophic global conflict.

Now the Palace of Nations is used by the United Nations (UN), which replaced the unsuccessful League after WWII in October 1945. The building was handed over to the UN, as was the Palais Wilson. The Palace of Nations is now the second-largest UN centre after the headquarters in New York. The League of Nations ceased to exist entirely in 1946 but its legacy remains visible in the Palace of Nations.

FRESCOES

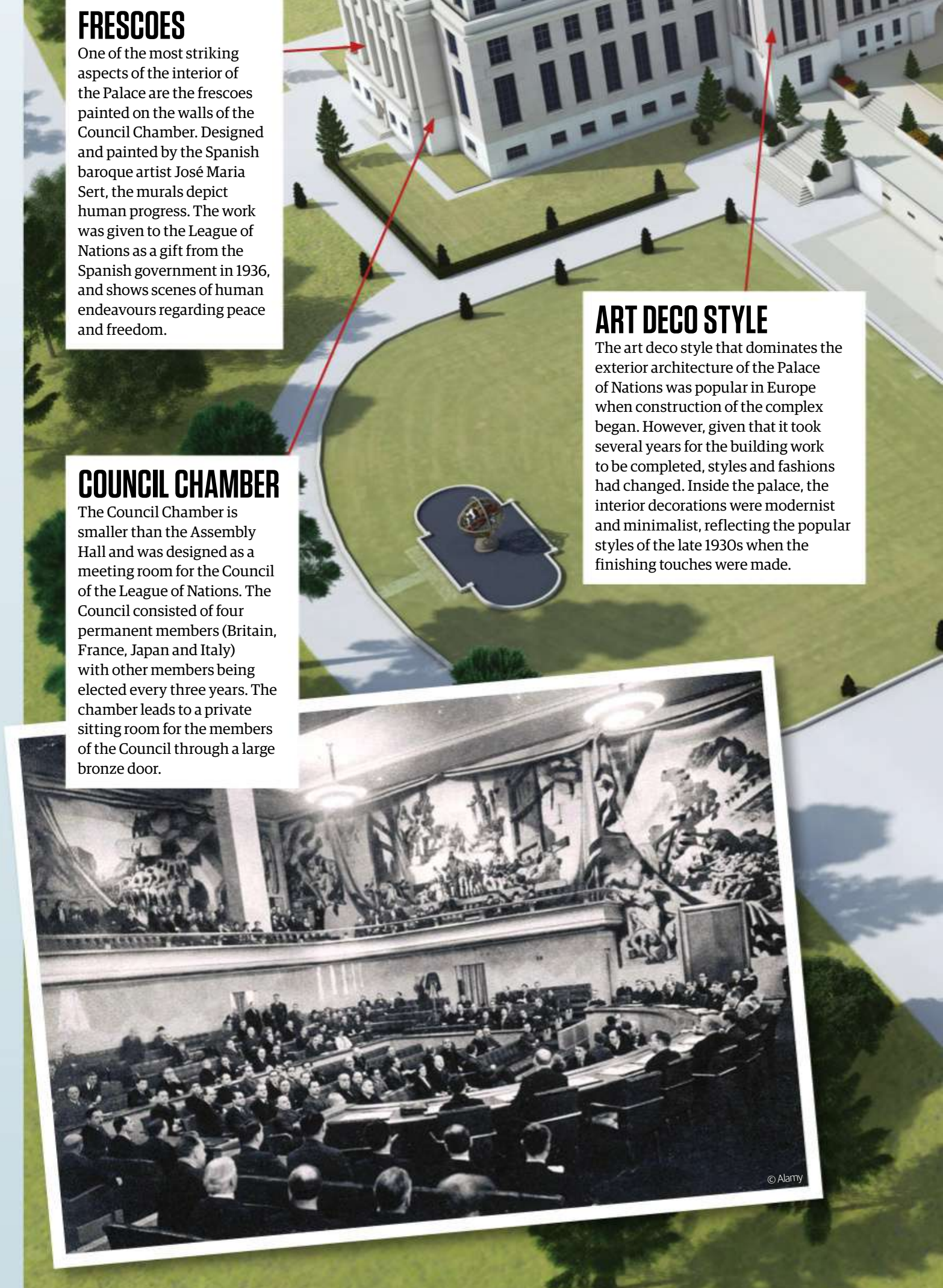
One of the most striking aspects of the interior of the Palace are the frescoes painted on the walls of the Council Chamber. Designed and painted by the Spanish baroque artist José Maria Sert, the murals depict human progress. The work was given to the League of Nations as a gift from the Spanish government in 1936, and shows scenes of human endeavours regarding peace and freedom.

ART DECO STYLE

The art deco style that dominates the exterior architecture of the Palace of Nations was popular in Europe when construction of the complex began. However, given that it took several years for the building work to be completed, styles and fashions had changed. Inside the palace, the interior decorations were modernist and minimalist, reflecting the popular styles of the late 1930s when the finishing touches were made.

COUNCIL CHAMBER

The Council Chamber is smaller than the Assembly Hall and was designed as a meeting room for the Council of the League of Nations. The Council consisted of four permanent members (Britain, France, Japan and Italy) with other members being elected every three years. The chamber leads to a private sitting room for the members of the Council through a large bronze door.



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ARIANA PARK

Situated in acres of green space, the Palace of Nations is surrounded by Ariana Park. The park overlooks Lake Geneva and Mont Blanc and was donated to the League of Nations by the City of Geneva. Elsewhere in the park are a number of private residences and other buildings which were built on the land before the palace. The park itself has an area of 46 hectares.

ASSEMBLY HALL

The biggest and most central room in the Palace of Nations is the Assembly Hall, which was used for large meetings between the member states. The inauguration of the hall took place in 1937 and could hold 2,000 people. The grand hall faces out onto the lake in front of the palace. It may also have been the first room in the world to be fitted out with the technology to allow simultaneous interpretation.

SPRAWLING SITE

After Versailles, the Palace of Nations was the largest building complex in Europe at the time of its construction. Covering an area of 153,500 square-metres, the Palace has been subject to extensions and remodifications after the cessation of the League of Nations and the establishment of the United Nations, which now uses the building.

TIME CAPSULE

Before construction work began on the Palace of Nations, a foundation stone was laid in September 1929 to signify the beginning of the project. Buried below the foundation stone were a copy of the Covenant of the League of Nations, coins from each member state and maps of the building.

INTERIOR DECORATION

The interior of the palace is as impressive as the exterior. Different artists and designers contributed to the internal decor of the building, with stained-glass windows in the lobby designed by Swiss artist Alexandre Cingria and the Council's private sitting room designed by the French artist Jules Leleu. The architecture of the palace ensured large windows gave those inside an impressive view of the building's surroundings.

ARCHITECTS

A competition was held in 1927 to find the perfect design for the League's Palace of Nations and the architect to take on the project. Out of 377 entries from around the world, a winner could not be decided upon. The jury in charge of finding an architect decided to put together five architects from the hundreds of entrants and asked them to draw up a new plan together.

LIBRARY

The League of Nations library was set up alongside the organisation in 1919 and consisted of 90,000 volumes at the time of its foundation. When the Palace of Nations was built, American business magnate John D Rockefeller donated $2 million to the building of a library within the palace, which would become a centre for international learning.

Illustration by: Adrian Mann

Anatomy

KEBUR ZABAGNA OFFICER

Ethiopia 1935-36

LION SKIN

Kebur Zabagna officers were distinguished from other Abyssinian troops by the lion-skin pieces that were attached to their hats and ornamental shoulder pieces. The Lion of Judah was the title given to some of the emperors of Ethiopia, including Emperor Selassie, who ruled Abyssinia at the time of the Italian invasion.

COLLAR PATCHES

Different coloured collar patches identified which regiment a soldier was part of: red patches for riflemen, black for the artillery, green for machine gunners and blue for the cavalry. The Italians also used this system to identify different regiments in their army, although they used different colours.

MAUSER RIFLE

The soldiers of the Kebur Zabagna – the Ethiopian Imperial Guard – were mostly armed with German Mauser rifles. Emperor Haile Selassie wanted every member of the army to be supplied with weapons, and other arms and ammunition were gathered for the Abyssinian troops through raids on Italian supplies.

IMPERIAL GUARD

The Kebur Zabagna were established for Haile Selassie when he became the Ethiopian emperor. They made up a small but significant part of the army in the Second Italo-Abyssinian War and were the most experienced soldiers in the country before the war.

KHAKI UNIFORM

The khaki uniforms worn by the Kebur Zabagna soldiers were similar to the uniforms worn by British Tommies during World War I. They were the only branch of the army with an official uniform and their European-style uniforms were reflective of the European-style training given to the soldiers.

EUROPEAN TRAINING

The Kebur Zabagna were one of the only parts of the Ethiopian army with military training. Trained firstly by the Swiss and later Belgian military forces, the Imperial Guard were a formidable regiment. Their European training equipped them to face the Italian army, though they were defeated by the Italians at the Battle of Maychew in 1936.

BARE FEET

Most of the Abyssinian army did not wear shoes. Emperor Selassie had banned the wearing of boots as he believed they hampered a soldier's ability to traverse the rough Ethiopian terrain. Only elite members of the Kebur Zabagna were permitted to wear boots.

Illustration by: Kevin McGivern

Historical Treasures

TREATY OF VERSAILLES

The peace agreement laid the foundations for the League of Nations
France, 1919

When the armistice between the Allied forces and Germany was signed on 11 November 1918, all fighting ceased and World War I came to an end. The world was left shattered by the devastating effects of the war, and it was clear to many nations that there needed to be an international body that could mediate disputes between countries to prevent another conflict on such a grand scale. American President Woodrow Wilson had given a speech to the US Congress in January 1918 that had outlined the 14 Points he believed were necessary to protect future world peace and bring the Great War to a peaceful and just end. Wilson brought these ideals to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, which convened to formally agree on the peace terms to resolve the conflict. One of Wilson's 14 Points mentioned the establishment of a "general association of nations," and this became one of the president's aims at the conference held at the Palace of Versailles in France.

The peace negotiations were headed by leaders of the victorious nations: Wilson representing the United States; Prime Minister David Lloyd George representing Britain; Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau representing France; and Prime Minister Vittorio Orlando representing Italy. However, the absence of other leading powers in Europe, such as Russia and Germany, caused problems, as did the conflicting aims of the Big Four heads of state.

Despite arguments back and forth between the involved nations, the Treaty of Versailles was drawn up as a result of the conference. The first part of the treaty was the Covenant of the League of Nations, which established Wilson's peacekeeping ideal. The Covenant included the league's constitution and outlined the remit and responsibilities of the organisation. The main aim of the League was "to promote international cooperation and to achieve peace and security." It began operating on 10 January 1920. Though the League had largely been the idea of Woodrow Wilson, strong opposition in the US Senate meant that America never joined the organisation. The harshness of the Treaty of Versailles and the ineffectuality of the League of Nations ultimately set the scene for future tensions and the outbreak of World War II.

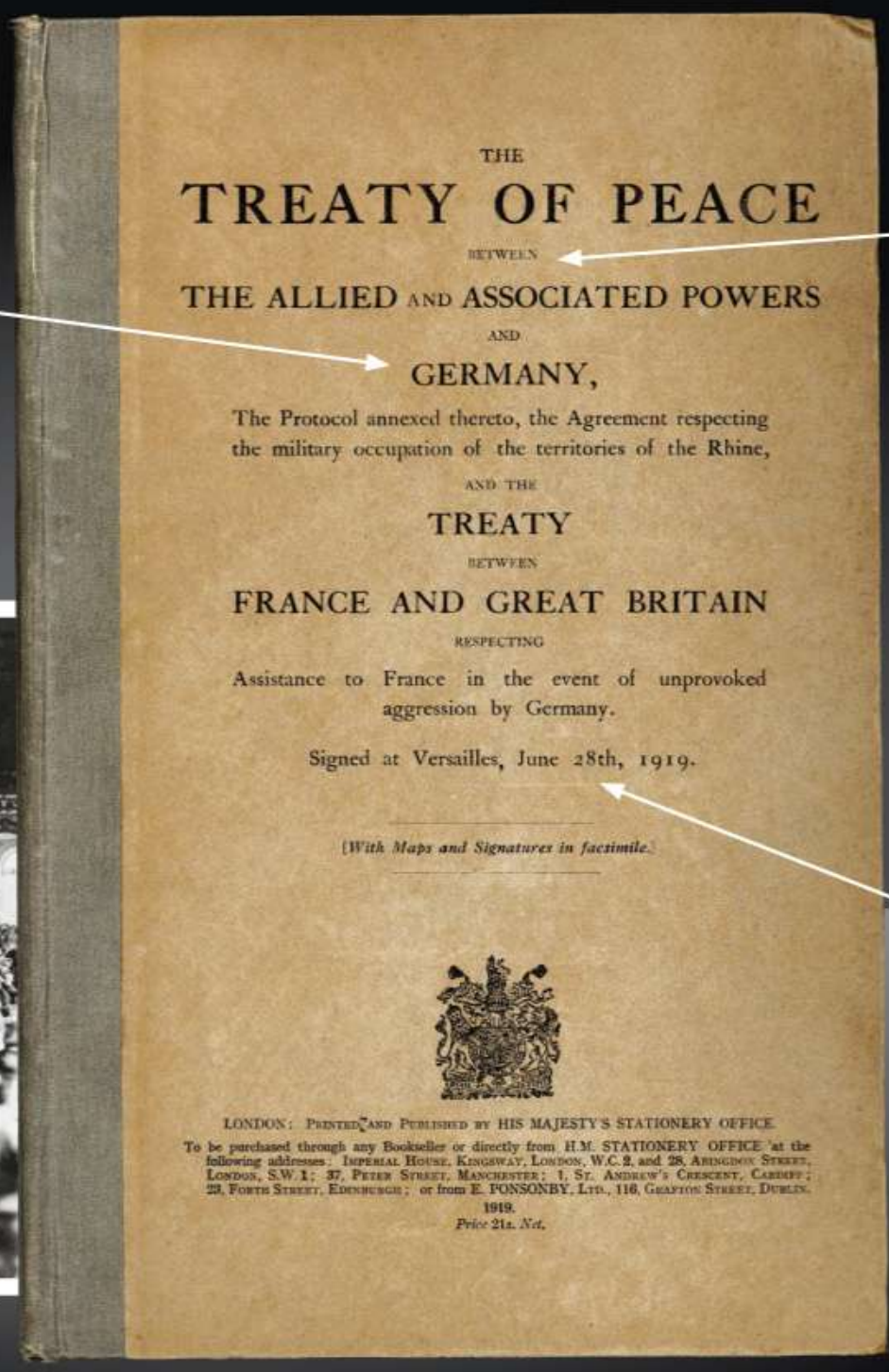
THE SIGNING

The Treaty of Versailles was signed by the Allied powers on 28 June 1919, exactly five years after the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand. Each signing nation kept their own copy of the treaty, so there are original documents all over the world.

GERMAN ABSENCE

Although Germany had not had any input at the peace conference, they were pressured to sign the peace agreement. All the blame for the war was assigned to them and they had to pay reparations and have territory removed.

BELOW The treaty was signed in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles



THE
TREATY OF PEACE
BETWEEN
THE ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED POWERS
AND
GERMANY,
The Protocol annexed thereto, the Agreement respecting the military occupation of the territories of the Rhine,
AND THE
TREATY
BETWEEN
FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN
RESPECTING
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Signed at Versailles, June 28th, 1919.
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AMERICAN OPPOSITION

Despite President Wilson being one of the main architects of the Treaty of Versailles and the establishment of the League of Nations, the US Senate refused to ratify the treaty. They signed a separate treaty with Germany in 1921.

BEGINNING OF THE LEAGUE

The League began operating from Geneva, Switzerland, in 1920 with 42 member states. Any nation could join the League as long as they fulfilled certain requirements and gained a majority of votes in favour of admission from existing members.

Images: Alamy

LEADING LEAGUE FIGURES

Some of the politicians, diplomats and activists who shaped a new age of international cooperation

MARGUERITE DE WITT-SCHLUMBERGER

FRENCH, 1853 – 1924

An influential activist for women's rights, De Witt-Schlumberger was the president of the International League of Women's Rights and lobbied for the inclusion of women at the Paris Peace Conference. A counter-conference of women, called the Inter-Allied Women's Conference, was also held and 17 delegates were heard at the Peace Conference's labour legislation meeting, helping to shape the debate as the League was born.

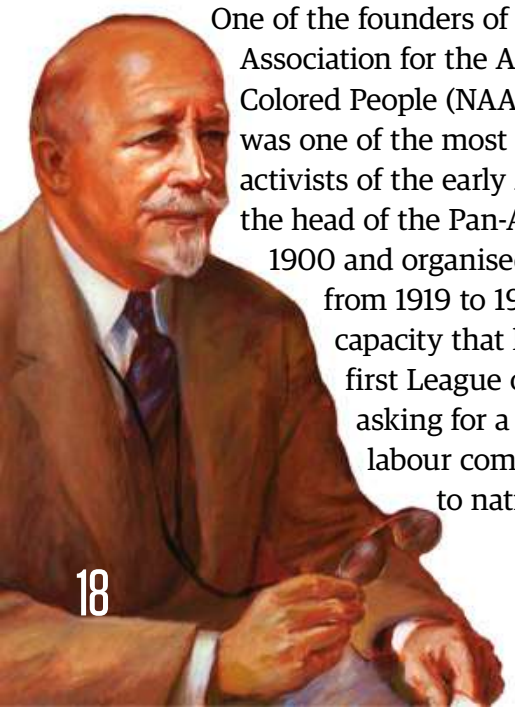
EDWARD M HOUSE

AMERICAN, 1858 – 1938

Known as President Woodrow Wilson's right hand, House was a diplomat and White House advisor who was influential in the peace negotiations after WWI. He was Wilson's man in Britain, France and Germany during the war and helped write Wilson's 14 Points speech. The two fell out at the Paris Conference as House supported compromises and Wilson wanted to stick to his plan.

WEB DU BOIS AMERICAN, 1868 – 1963

One of the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909, Du Bois was one of the most prominent civil rights activists of the early 20th century. He was the head of the Pan-African Conference in 1900 and organised further congresses from 1919 to 1927. It was in this capacity that he addressed the first League of Nations assembly, asking for a special section of the labour committee to be devoted to native workers.

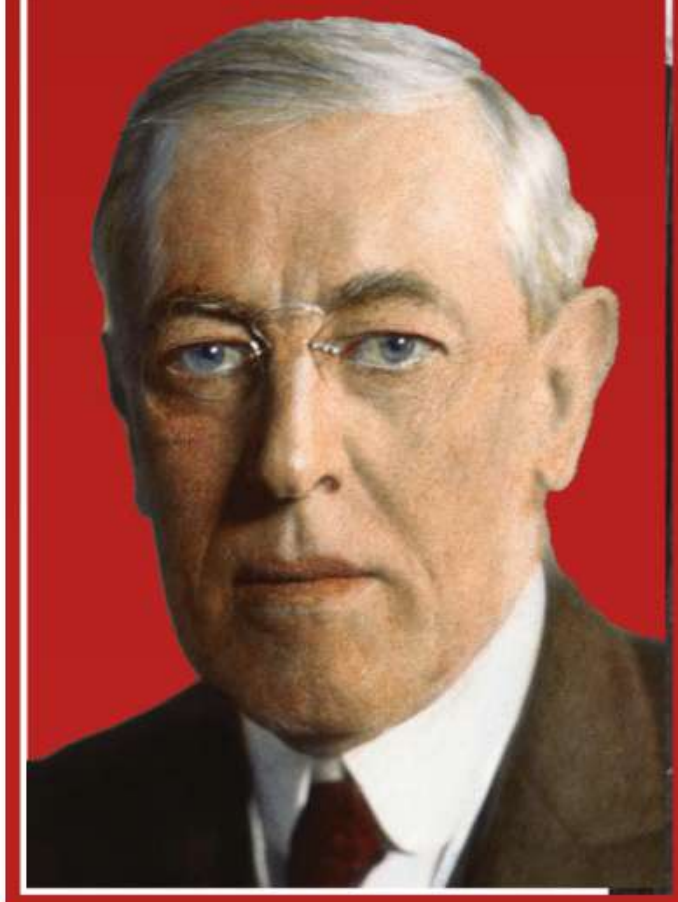


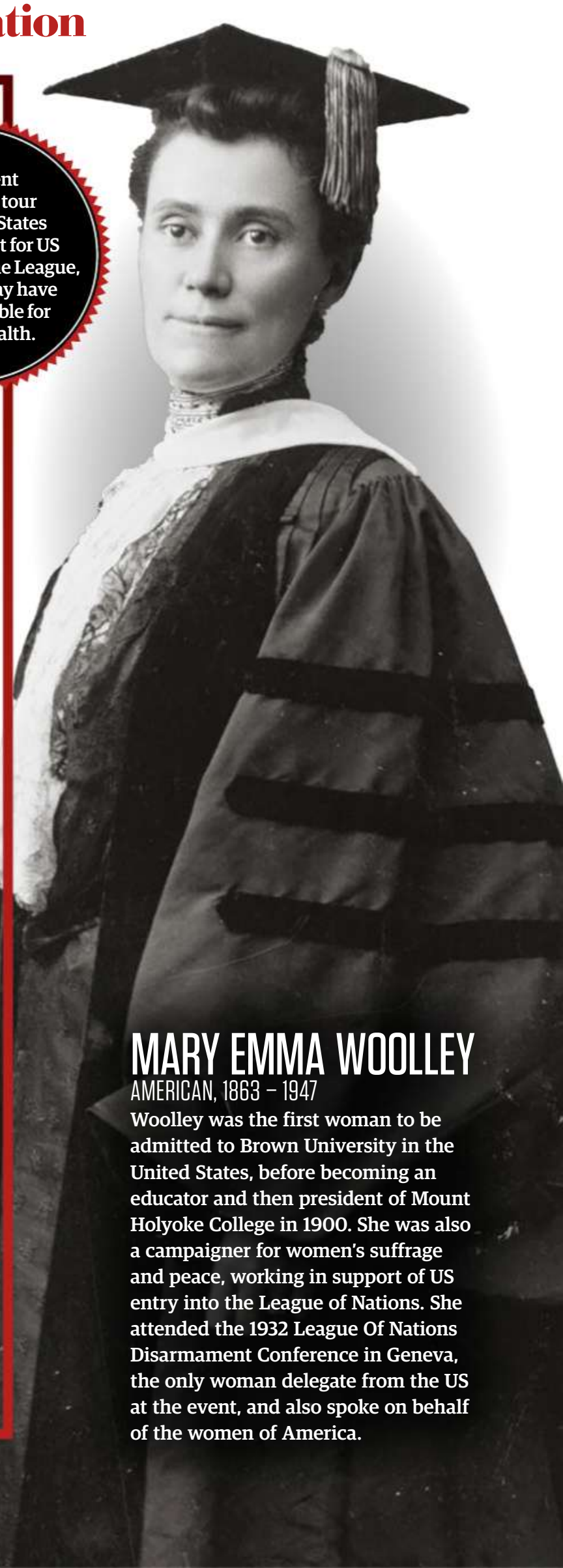
Woodrow Wilson

American, 1856 – 1924

Wilson went on a lengthy tour of the United States to build support for US membership in the League, a trip which may have been responsible for his ailing health.

President Wilson is credited with being the foremost champion of the League of Nations since he included the concept in his 14 Points plan for peace in Europe, presented to Congress on 8 January 1918. This formed the basis for peace negotiations between the Allied and Central Powers. Key points, such as the abolition of secret treaties, arms control and greater respect for native peoples in colonial matters formed much of the basis for the early negotiations, although the Allied powers were resistant to some elements. So too, it proved, were Republican senators, who blocked American membership to the League despite Wilson having been instrumental in its construction.





MARY EMMA WOOLLEY

AMERICAN, 1863 – 1947

Woolley was the first woman to be admitted to Brown University in the United States, before becoming an educator and then president of Mount Holyoke College in 1900. She was also a campaigner for women's suffrage and peace, working in support of US entry into the League of Nations. She attended the 1932 League Of Nations Disarmament Conference in Geneva, the only woman delegate from the US at the event, and also spoke on behalf of the women of America.

ROBERT CECIL
ENGLISH, 1864 – 1958

One of the men responsible for drafting the Covenant of the League of Nations, Robert Cecil had worked in foreign affairs during WWI, but began drawing up plans for international peacekeeping in 1916. He left the British government in 1927 to concentrate on promoting the League, which he worked with until 1945. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1937. However, his view of world order was strictly an structure under the control of the powerful white nations in the organisation and he opposed provisions around racial equality for League members.

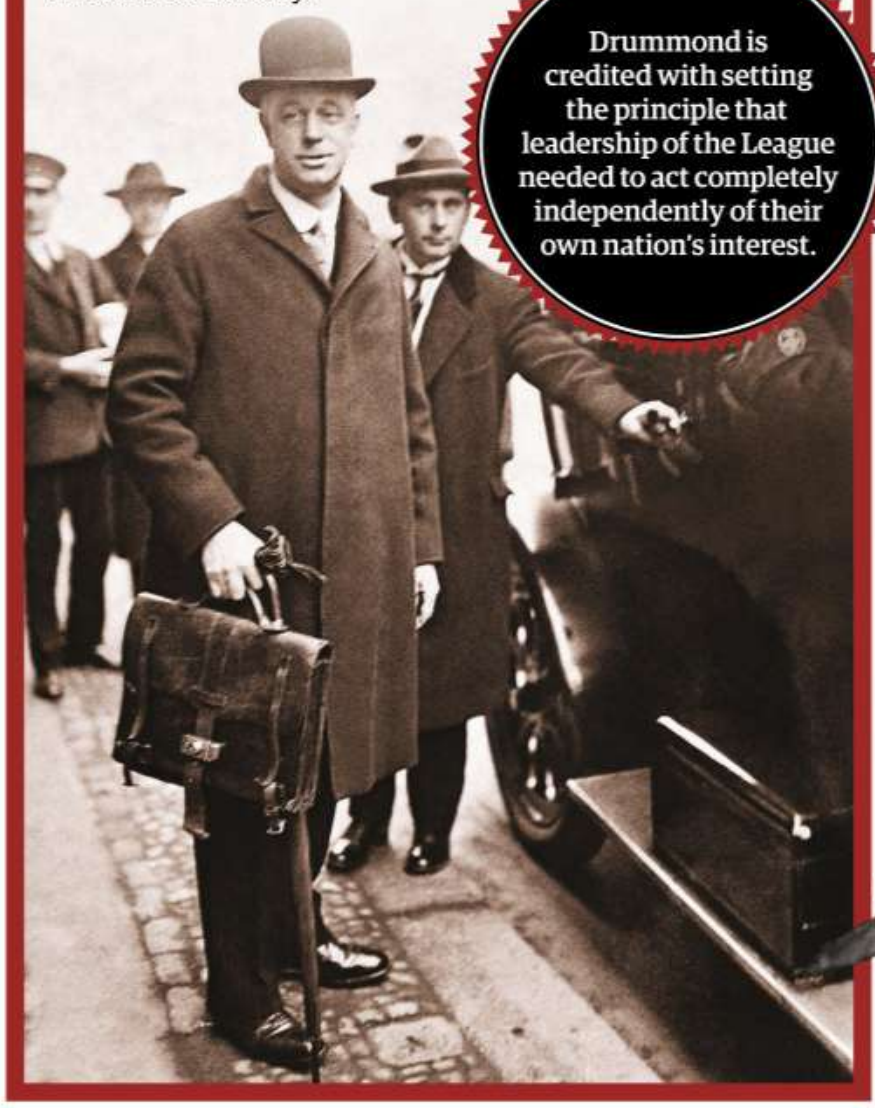
MAXIM LITVINOV
RUSSIAN, 1876 – 1951

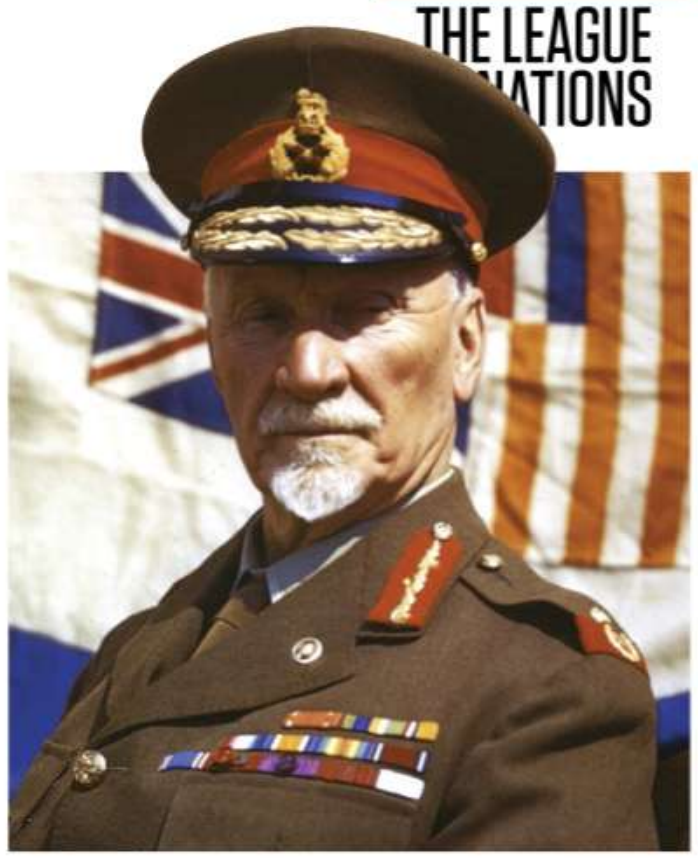
Litvinov was an instrumental figure in getting the Soviet Union to join the League of Nations in 1934. Prior to this he had been a staunch supporter of Lenin in the build up to the Russian Revolution, mostly working from abroad to support the Bolshevik cause. He acted as ambassador to London after the revolution, but was expelled in 1918 and worked in Soviet Foreign Office. He looked to engage with the League early on, supporting disarmament and urging action against the rise of fascism, particularly in Germany. He was dismissed by Stalin before the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact in 1939.

Eric Drummond
English, 1876 – 1951

Although Drummond had been a career civil servant, working in the British Foreign Office from 1900, he was chosen to be the first Secretary-General of the League of Nations, beating out a number of much more high-profile candidates. The reason for this is that he had impressed as a member of the British delegation at the Paris Peace Conference. He was directly involved in plans for the new headquarters of the League, its budget, committees and other activities. He set the precedents for how the different bodies of the League interacted, some of which informed the United Nations. He resigned from the League in 1933 and became British ambassador to Italy.

Drummond is credited with setting the principle that leadership of the League needed to act completely independently of their own nation's interest.





JAN SMUTS SOUTH AFRICAN, 1870 – 1950

One of the strongest voices in the room for the Paris Peace Conference was that of Jan Smuts, a former general who had fought against the British in the Boer War and then at their side in WWI. In 1919 he became prime minister of South Africa and advocated for reconciliation with Germany rather than heavy reparations. He was also one of the chief supporters of the League of Nations and the creation of the British Commonwealth. In later years he would also help to draft the proposal for the United Nations, building on the lessons of the League. However, while he promoted peaceful cooperation abroad he was implementing segregationist policies in South Africa.

Rachel Crowdy
English, 1884 – 1964

Crowdy trained as a nurse and joined the nursing units of the Territorial Army, the Voluntary Aid Detachments, in 1911. She served as a nurse during the First World War, organising VADs on the continent, earning her a DBE in 1919. Her administration experience in the war made her a perfect fit for a role at the League Of Nations where she was the only woman to be head of a section, Social Questions and Opium Traffic.

During WWII, Crowdy worked with the Ministry of Information as a Regions Advisor, reporting on bomb damage to cities across Britain.

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Q&A

MAKING AND BREAKING THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Carolyn Biltoft explains the origins of the organisation and its lasting legacy

What were some of the key diplomatic events that led to the creation of the League Of Nations?

Most directly, the League grew out of the destruction and loss of the First World War, and therefore the series of diplomatic efforts both to end that war and to prevent another of its kind. Most famously, we think of the Paris Peace Conferences of 1919 and the subsequent treaties (the Versailles Treaty, among others). However, to really understand the origin of the League I think one has place it within a longer story of globalisation as economic, political and cultural phenomena began to play out across borders. As global interaction increased, so too did efforts to 'manage' it. The history of the League is the heir not only of the Hague Conventions (1899 and 1907) but also a host of other events such as the Berlin Conference (1884) the International Telegraph Conference (1865) and even, in some ways, the Communist International. For those involved with the creation of the League, much of their discourse underlined that the First World War was proof that an increasingly global world could violently combust without institutions capable of fostering inter-national conversations and preventing conflict on matters of money, communications, labour, raw materials, etc.

Woodrow Wilson won a Nobel Peace Prize for his role in the League, but the US didn't join. Why were so many in America reticent?

The official story is that the cadre of American isolationists - spearheaded by Henry Cabot Lodge - were worried about the US getting permanently entangled in European affairs against their own best interest. I think that a similarly divided opinion existed in many places, and reflected a common tension not only between the forces of localism and those of cosmopolitanism, but also between sectors of the economy less or more dependent on international trade and finance. In terms of public support, in the case of the USA its relative physical distance from the heart of the conflict and its far fewer loss of lives meant that the cautionary voices that warned against getting dragged into distant conflagrations held more weight and managed to win the day.

Would America's involvement have made the future of the League Of Nations significantly different?

First of all, as [historian] Patricia Clavin and others have shown, the United States retained a rather influential presence at the League despite the fact that it was not a member. This was particularly true for questions of economics and finance. I think it is hard to guess what official American membership might have meant for how the history of the organisation unfolded. Certainly the tenor and tone of the meetings might have been very different. Perhaps they could have exerted pressure on certain key decisions, but I am not at all among

Carolyn Biltoft is associate professor of International History and Politics at the Geneva Graduate Institute and she specialises in globalising structures and international organisations. Her book *A Violent Peace* focuses on how control of media helped totalitarian regimes rise and how that battle played out in the League Of Nations.

RIGHT This cartoon from 1919 suggests that the US is the missing link to the success of the League

Photo courtesy of: Carolyn Biltoft

Henry Cabot Lodge, US senator and leading opponent of America joining the League Of Nations

those who believe that America's failure to join was the nail in the League of Nation's coffin.

How much did the continued existence of strong imperial influence around the world hinder the League's ability to function fairly for all nations?

What is important to keep in mind is that the League was a creature of its moment. It was still an imperial world, and thus whatever its good and peaceful intentions on many issues [were], it reflected the same inequalities as the world of which it was a part. The only way it could have been different would have been to have its founders disavow their own imperial policies and practices. That said, as I show in my book, because the League did open up a global discussion forum it also provided a global microphone for contesting voices – anti-imperialism, women's rights, the rights of all races.

Why did the League of Nations ultimately fail in its mission to prevent another world war?

Many League of Nations scholars, myself included, tend to think of 'failure' as the wrong starting point for understanding the League's rise and fall. It is true that it didn't fulfil its stated objective – to prevent another global war. However, I think it is more useful to see international organisations as microcosms of the world in which they operate. The post-WWI treaties didn't resolve many of the conflicts that had led to the First World War – especially conflicts over imperial territories and global resources – and also created a few new economic and political grievances (reparations payments, selective disarmament etc). The League became the victim of the fault lines from which it had emerged and over which it stood guard.

What was different about the formation of the United Nations that means it's lasted so much longer?

I think the UN has lasted because its structure remains relevant to the world we inhabit. In other words, many of the structures and mechanisms in place at the end of WWII still endure, even if in altered form. For one, the UN was created as the protracted decolonisation process was picking up speed, so it had to adapt its mechanisms to the realities of former colonies gaining statehood.

Furthermore, because the conflict over official languages at the League had been such a heated one (they only allowed English and French), the United Nations started out of the gate by permitting more official languages. The bottom line is that the League had been a laboratory of lessons in international governance, lessons the United Nations drew from, using what had worked and discarding what had proved ineffective.

A VIOLENT PEACE
IS OUT NOW FROM UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

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Places to Explore

PEACE MUSEUMS

Visit these museums and sites to learn more about the League of Nations and its successor the United Nations

1 UNITED NATIONS AND LEAGUE OF NATIONS MUSEUM

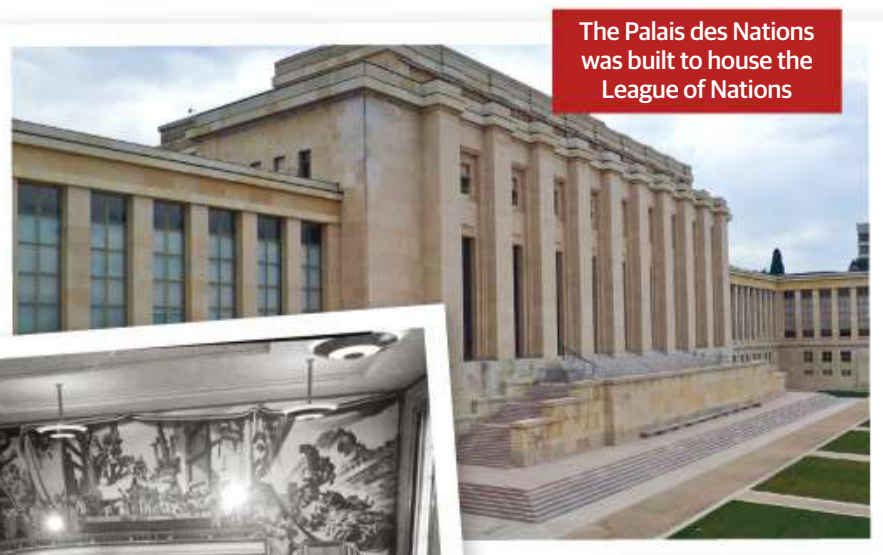
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

Inside the Palais des Nations, once home of the League of Nations and a current property of the United Nations, is a museum celebrating the history of both organisations. The museum contains a wealth of historical documents, objects and artworks from both the UN's own collection and also those of private organisations and individuals. The current exhibition on display is entitled 100 years of Multilateralism in Geneva and explores the history of this principle in relation to both the League and the United Nations.

Located in Ariana Park in Geneva, the Palais des Nations was initially constructed between 1929 and 1936 to house the League of Nations. Some 377 architects submitted entries to a competition to choose its design, but when no single winner could be chosen the five most successful were invited to collaborate. The building was intended to house all the varying aspects of the League. Today it is still in use as the second-largest UN centre after the organisation's headquarters in New York, and more than 2,500 delegates pass through its doors each year.

Visitors can also arrange guided tours of the palace itself or view a number of fascinating artworks on display.

Visits can only be arranged upon written request for minimum groups of 12 people. The museum is open Monday – Friday, 9am to 5pm and entry is free.



The Palais des Nations was built to house the League of Nations

The inside of one of the conference rooms ahead of a meeting of the Big Four in 1955

2 PEACE PALACE

THE HAGUE, NETHERLANDS

The Hague Peace Palace and site of the Permanent Court of International Justice

The Hague Peace Palace was originally opened in 1913 to house the Permanent Court of Arbitration, which remains at the site alongside the other courts. However, between 1922 and 1946 the Peace Palace became the home of the League of Nations Permanent Court of International Justice. The function of this organisation was to help arbitrate in any international disputes, make decisions and offer advisory opinions. During its years of operation, the court dealt with 29 cases of disagreement between states, with nearly an equal number of advisory opinions issued. Following the end of World War II and the formation of the United Nations, the Permanent Court of International Justice was replaced by the International Court of Justice. This court was similarly housed in the Peace Palace and remains so along with a number of other organisations, including the Library of International Law and The Hague Academy of International Law.

The visitor centre is open Wednesday to Sunday from 12pm to 5pm. Entry is free.

The Imperial War Museum has a collection of 800,000 artefacts

© Alamy

3 IMPERIAL WAR MUSEUM
LONDON, UK

Following the end of World War I, while the League of Nations was intended to create an international body that would help prevent the outbreak of further wars, a number of museums and other organisations were also created to continue the memory of the Great War. Equally designed to mark Britain's victory and raise national morale, as well as furthering the memory of the conflict in a way designed to teach the public about the horrors of war, the Imperial War Museum was founded on 5 March 1917. Initially housed at Crystal Palace, the museum first moved to a pair of galleries in the vicinity of the Imperial Institute and finally to its permanent location on Lambeth Road in South London. The museum was originally announced after the War Cabinet approved a proposal by Sir Albert Mond MP for a national museum commemorating and recording the memory of the then-ongoing war.

The Imperial War Museum has since expanded and now commemorates and researches war in general, as well as the two World Wars. The IWM also has a further two sites, one in Duxford, Cambridgeshire, and the other based in Manchester. The museum has some 800,000 objects which it has been collecting since 1917, including a renowned collection of artillery and other large military equipment.

Open 10am to 6pm. Entry is free, but advanced booking is advised to avoid queuing.

4 UNITED NATIONS VISITOR CENTRE
NEW YORK, USA

At the end of World War II, the League of Nations was disbanded and its various assets and remits handed over to the new United Nations. Following its formation, the new organisation accepted an offer by the United States to build a new headquarters in New York City. Construction began in 1949 and the headquarters opened formally three years later. The unique design of the building incorporated a number of the organisation's beliefs into its architecture, for example the glass front representing the transparency that the United Nations hoped to have. Similarly, according to the UN's official site, the balconies from the public access areas which overlook the second floor are meant to be a reminder to delegates that the UN is accountable to the people of the world. The UN is open to the public and visitors can take a guided tour and see rooms such as the Security Council Chamber or General Assembly Hall. (Tours are offered in six languages.) The visitor centre also regularly has a number of exhibitions relating to the various problems around the world which the UN seeks to address.

The UN building in New York opened in 1949

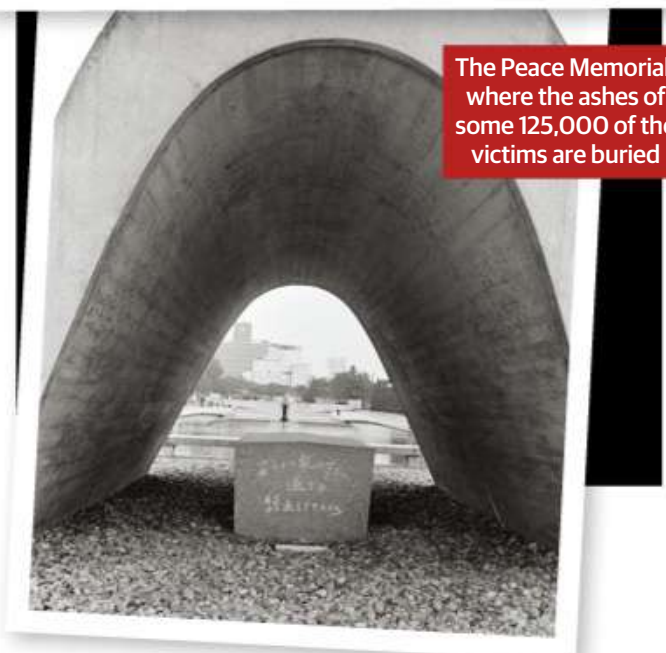
Open Monday to Friday 9am-5pm

5 HIROSHIMA PEACE MEMORIAL MUSEUM
HIROSHIMA, JAPAN

The bombing of Hiroshima by the United States on 6 August 1945, followed by Nagasaki on the 9th, was one of the most devastating events in the entire duration of World War II and changed warfare forever. The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum opened ten years after the detonation of the American atomic bomb, in 1955 in Peace Memorial Park. The museum was designed to showcase to visitors the horror of the 1945 bombing on the civilians of Hiroshima and commemorate those lost in the attack. The Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings occurred during the last few months that the League of Nations was active, before being shuttered on 20 April 1946. The outbreak of World War II was a devastating realisation to many of the powers involved that it had ultimately failed in its goals. The bombings were a final humiliation before the organisation was closed and replaced by the United Nations.

Open between 8.30am and 7pm, depending on the time of year. Price of admission for adults is ¥200 (concession prices are available)

The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum opened in 1955



The Peace Memorial, where the ashes of some 125,000 of the victims are buried

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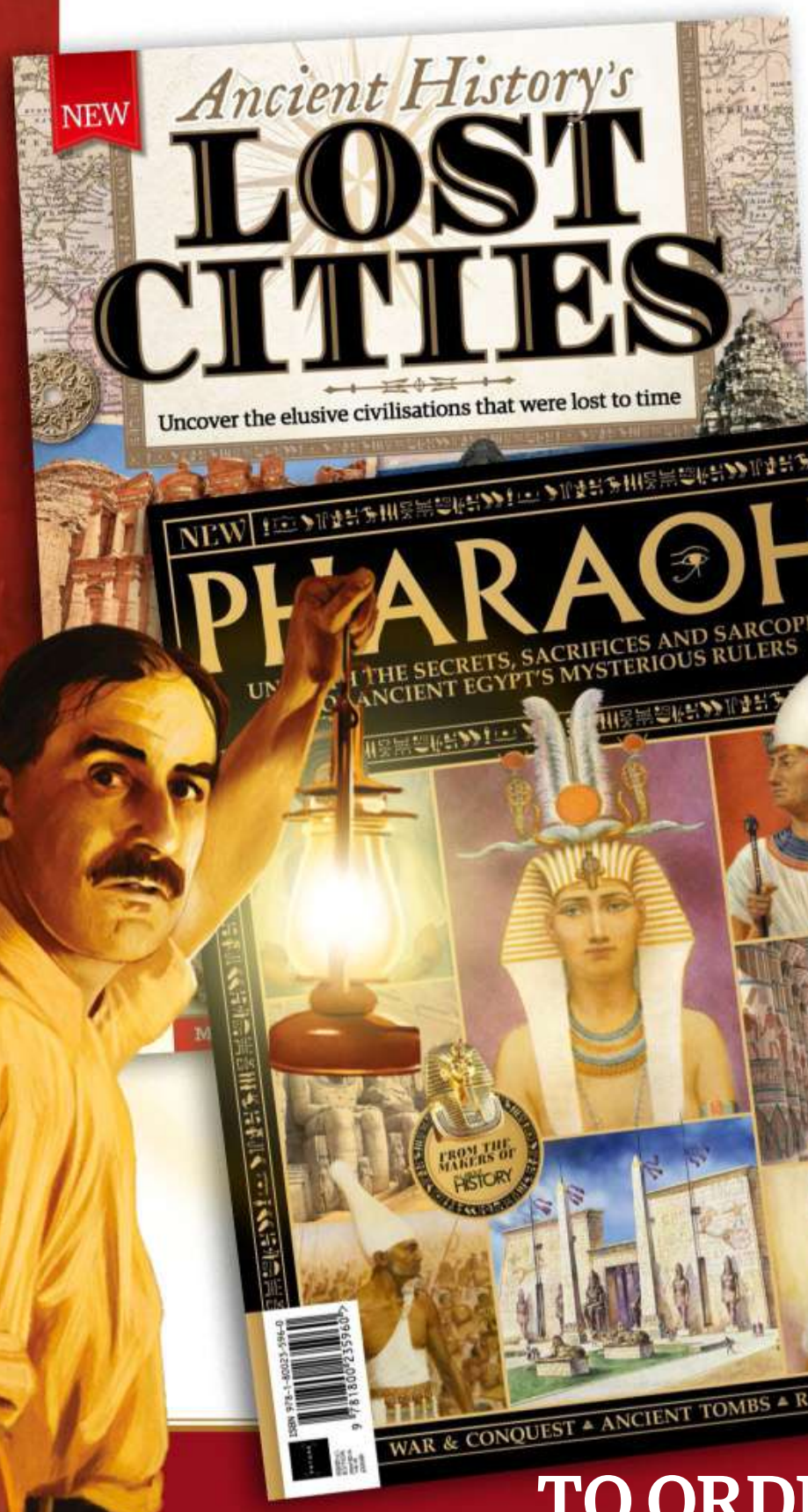

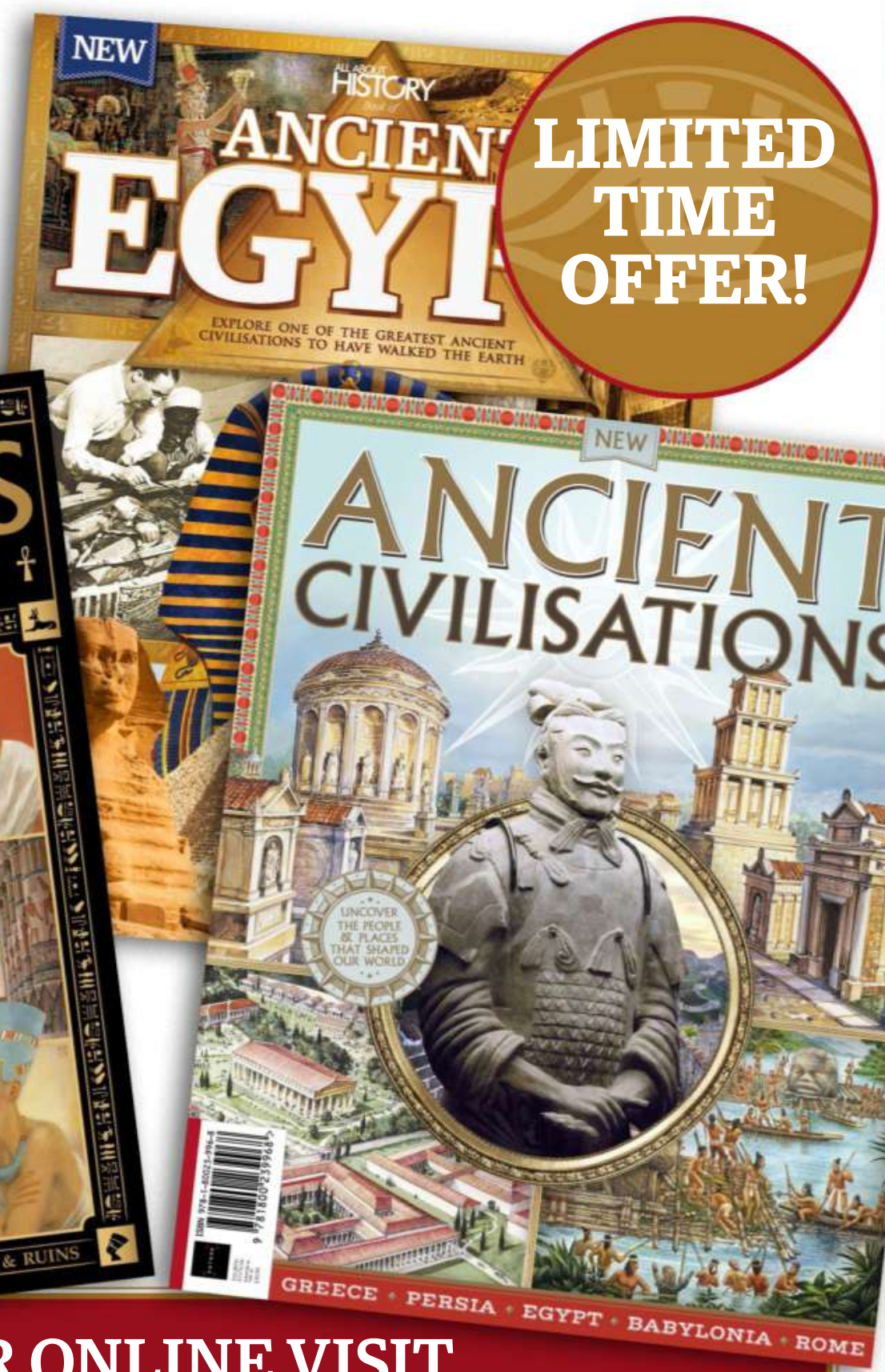

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AZTEC EMPIRE

How nomadic tribes united to create a Central American superpower

Written by Owen Jarus

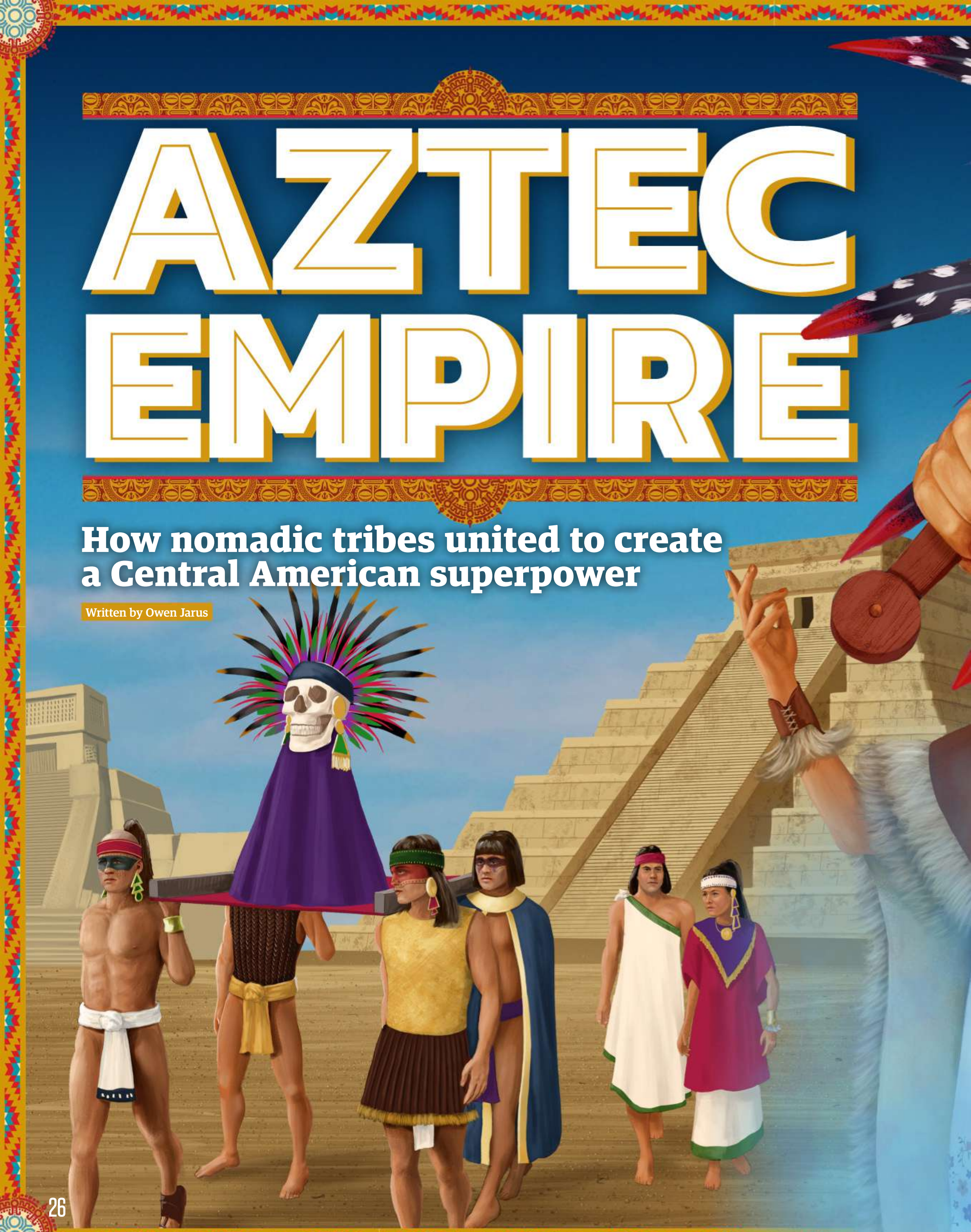


Illustration by Kevin McGivern

ABOVE A depiction of the central square of Tenochtitlán as it would have looked at the peak of the Aztec Empire

At their height, around 1500, the Aztecs controlled a large amount of territory in central Mexico. They grew their empire through military conquest. "According to their own histories, military power [was] the main advantage they had," says Davide Domenici, an anthropology professor at the University of Bologna.

Scholars use a wide variety of sources to reconstruct Aztec warfare, including texts written by the Aztecs and Spanish, archaeological discoveries and experiments such as testing out the effects of different Aztec weapons.

Defining who exactly the Aztecs were can be complicated. The word 'Aztec' comes from the Nahuatl language and means 'people from Aztlan'. David Carrasco, author of *The Aztecs: A Very Short Introduction,* describes Aztlan as the "revered place of origin of the various ethnic groups who eventually dominated central Mexico in the century before the arrival of Europeans." Where exactly Aztlan is and whether it should be considered a real or mythical place is a source of debate among scholars.

The people whom we call Aztecs didn't use that word to describe themselves. They would sometimes use words linked to various ethnic groups that they belonged to such as the Mexica, who were based around the city of Tenochtitlán and became the most powerful Aztec group.

Scholars often use the term Aztec Empire to describe the entity that came to control much of central Mexico. At the heart of the Aztec Empire was the 'Triple Alliance' of the cities of Tenochtitlán, Tetzcoco and Tlacopa who, around 1428, agreed to work together to grow their influence and share the spoils of war. This happened after they overthrew the Tepanecs, who had been one of the most powerful groups in the region and had exercised power over Tenochtitlán and other cities. As time went on Domenici describes how the Mexica based at Tenochtitlán "gained a position of prominence within the so-called Triple Alliance."

> "HAD THE SPANIARDS BEEN THE SOLE COMBATANTS AGAINST THE AZTECS, THE CONFLICT WOULD HAVE ENDED QUICKLY IN THE AZTECS' FAVOUR"

IMPORTANCE OF TRADE

Trade also played an important role in how the Aztecs became powerful. The Mexica built the large city Tenochtitlán on an island on Lake Texcoco and Camila Townsend, a history professor at Rutgers University, says the location of the city meant that "they became the most important merchants in the region, as they were just a quick canoe ride away from dozens of other tribal groups", noting that "they grew rich through trade."

BELOW Figure of the fertility goddess Chalchihuitlicue

MIDDLE-LEFT The cultivation and harvesting of crops needed to be worked around in order to also raise an army

LEFT Moctezuma I is credited with building an education system that prioritised military readiness

When the Spanish arrived they marvelled at Tenochtitlán. Hernan Cortes, who led the conquest of Tenochtitlán, wrote that "the city is as big as Seville or Cordoba. The main streets are very wide and very straight; some of these are on the land, but the rest and all the smaller ones are half on land, half canals where they paddle their canoes."

Cortes noted that trade was abundant, writing that it had a great marketplace where "sixty-thousand people come each day to buy and sell." Its merchandise included "ornaments of gold and silver, lead, brass, copper, tin, stones, shells, bones and feathers." The gold at Tenochtitlán particularly impressed Cortes and was an important reason why he wanted to take over the city.

RAISING AN ARMY

While the Aztec Empire did not have a sizable permanent military, its youths received military training. A Dominican friar named Diego Durán (1537-88) wrote that Moctezuma I (1398 – 1469), who ruled the Mexica, created an education system where every neighbourhood had a school or temple where youths had to "practise for warfare, do physical work, fast, endure disciplinary measures, draw blood from different parts of the body and keep watch at night."

Success in battle – particularly at capturing enemy soldiers – could help elevate a person's social status. "Warriors were ranked by the number of enemy soldiers they had captured, and a highly successful soldier could reach a status far above his compatriots,"

THE AZTEC EMPIRE

How Aztec rule expanded to dominate most of Mexico

All images ©Alamy, ©Getty Images

REVELATIONS OF THE CODEX MENDOZA

The manuscript's first pictorial folio tells us a lot about Aztec societal structure

Named after the viceroy who commissioned the work, the *Codex Mendoza* was created in the 1540s and shines a light on Aztec economic, political and social history. The frontispiece (see below) is especially enlightening when looking at the social life of late Aztec society. The city of Tenochtitlán is represented by the central image of the eagle and cactus, and it is then divided into four separate sections defined by the crossing blue lines.

Within these four sections are ten seated figures, clearly of high birth. Dressed in white robes, they wear their hair in a manner that signifies their prowess as warriors. Set apart by the darker colouring of his skin, his connection to a cactus that links to the central image and by the speech glyph emanating from his mouth is a man called Tenuch. This is the ruler Tenuch, who reigned 1325-75, and his importance to the state religion is marked by signs of the priesthood – he wears his hair differently from the warrior-nobles around him and he sports smears of blood on his face.

The importance of martial achievements and history to the city are captured in the images at the bottom of the frontispiece. Here two Aztec warriors, wearing traditional quilted armour, tower over the defeated warriors of conquered cities. The temple imagery behind them demonstrates how important warfare was to the religious life of the city.

All images ©Alamy, ©Getty Images

ABOVE
A reconstruction of a marketplace from Tenochtitlán

MIDDLE
A ceramic sculpture of an Aztec village

RIGHT
An illustration of Aztec social order, which placed veteran warriors in high esteem

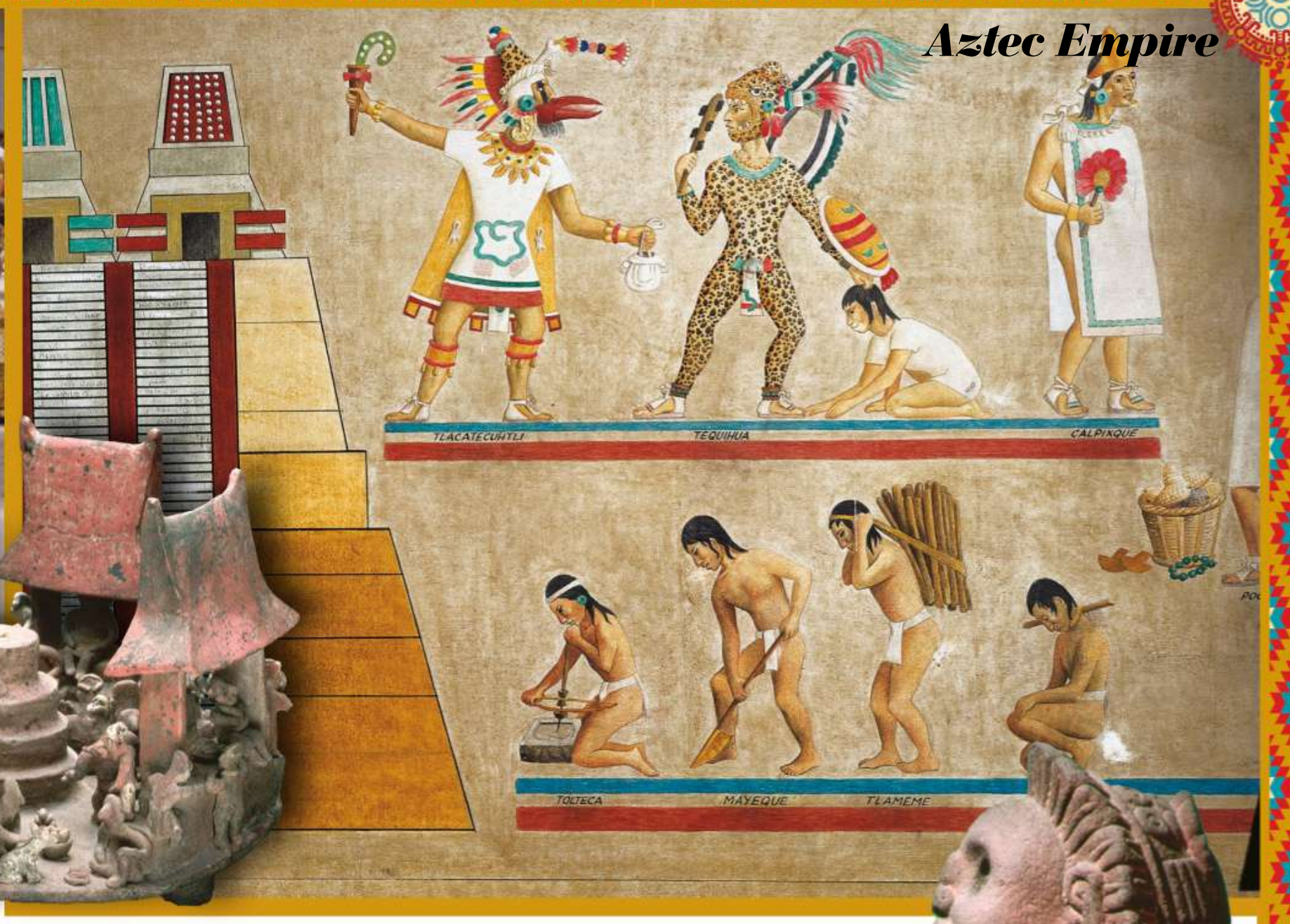
explains Michael Smith, author of *The Aztecs*. When possible, the Aztecs preferred to capture enemy soldiers so they could be used for human sacrifice. Highly successful warriors could be given special titles such as Eagle Warrior in honour of their achievements. Becoming an Eagle Warrior "typically required capturing four enemy warriors" writes the scholar Ross Hassig in the *British Journal for Military History*.

The highest-ranking warriors would be given a wide range of privileges. For instance, if they lived at Tenochtitlán they could have the right to build a second storey on their house. "Only the great noblemen and valiant warriors are given licence to build a house with a second storey; for disobeying this law a person receives the death penalty," writes Durán.

Aztec rulers were expected to be successful in warfare. Tizoc ruled Tenochtitlán from 1481-86 but suffered setbacks on the battlefield and was likely assassinated for it, according to Frances Berdan in *Aztec Archaeology and Ethnohistory*. Berdan notes that a ruler's "most important duties lay in the military realm" and they were expected to "personally command military campaigns."

When war came Aztec rulers were expected to raise troops, provide at least some of their equipment and inspire the soldiers. While the Aztecs did have a few professional soldiers most of their armies were made up of people who were drafted. These draftees "could only be taken seasonally" explains Hassig, adding: "They could not be taken from the fields during the agricultural seasons without seriously injuring Tenochtitlán's domestic economy." The rainy season – when crops were cultivated – ran from roughly late May to September and people were needed afterwards to harvest the crops, therefore large-scale drafts could not be done during this time. "Even if it had been possible to recruit during this period the food supplies to sustain them in the field were scarce until after harvest," says Hassig.

Rulers sometimes got intelligence from long-distance merchants and provisions were sometimes provided by conquered territories or allies that were located near the campaign route. Marco Antonio Cervera Obregón, an archaeology professor at Anáhuac University in Mexico, describes in his *Oxford Handbook of the Aztecs* how the Aztecs often used corn-based foods to feed their troops: before a campaign tortillas, tamales, cornmeal and tortilla chips were prepared to help keep the troops fed.



> "THE HIGHEST-RANKING WARRIORS WOULD BE GIVEN A WIDE RANGE OF PRIVILEGES, SUCH AS BUILDING A SECOND STOREY ON THEIR HOUSE"

How many troops the Aztecs could muster for war is a subject of debate. If they mobilised 10 percent of their population for a campaign then a rough estimate can be determined. "Most authors consider that, at its height, the city of Tenochtitlán housed an estimated 200,000 people thus a total of 20,000 troops for the armies of Tenochtitlán alone and around 60,000 soldiers if other members of the Triple Alliance are included would have been available," says Obregón.

The Aztecs did not have draught animals or wheeled transport so they had to rely on walking and canoes to move people and supplies to the place that they were trying to capture. While soldiers carried some supplies others were hauled by porters. The logistical challenges posed by walking or canoeing meant that the Aztecs tried to avoid lengthy sieges.

TACTICS AND WEAPONS

Hassig describes how the Aztec soldiers "had no hesitation in employing ambushes, feigning withdrawals to lure the enemy into compromising positions before counterattacking, as well as using scouts to bribe local traitors into revealing routes which could then be used to send forces into the city from an unexpected direction to attack an opposing army."

One tactic the Aztecs used was to destroy the temple of the city they were trying to conquer in an effort to demoralise enemy soldiers. "If the city's main temple was overwhelmed it was burned. The defenders lost heart, as their god had clearly been defeated by another, more powerful deity," writes Berdan. They tried to capture marketplaces intact as these could be a source of income used to provide tribute to the Aztecs.

Weapons that Aztec soldiers used included bows and arrows, spears, slings, atlatl (spear or dart throwers) and swords. Spanish accounts claimed that Aztec swords were so sharp that they could decapitate the head off a horse with a single blow. Their swords and spears also had obsidian blades.

The Aztec warriors would be equipped with different weapons depending on the type of unit they were in. If their unit focused on short-range combat they would use weapons like the macuahuitl (a club with obsidian blades), spears and swords. On the other hand, if the unit focused on long-range combat than they would use projectile weapons like a bow and arrow and atlatl.

Long-range weapons like the atlatl were sometimes used to break up enemy formations, making it easier for melee units to capture or kill enemy soldiers. When attacking their enemies Obregón says the Aztecs would "initially [send] long-distance troops with bows, arrows and slings, followed by warriors with macuahuitl and guarded on the flanks with archers."

Warriors also wore armour such as a cotton breastplate (known as ichcahuipill) and helmet, and used shields (known as chimalli). Aztec shields were often made of reeds or wood and were sheathed in leather with ▶

LEFT
Huitzilopochtli was the patron of the city of Tenochtitlán

a hanging feather fringe. The shields were typically carried with a strap. Their cotton armour was up to 5cm thick and looked like a sleeveless jacket that went from the neck to at least as far as the waist.

When fighting hand-to-hand the Aztecs would often try to attack an enemy's legs, hoping to strike a blow that would incapacitate their foe but still leave them able to be taken captive and walked back to Tenochtitlán, or another Aztec city, to be sacrificed. This tactic of trying to strike the legs would prove helpful when fighting the Spanish as the armour the Spanish wore didn't always cover their legs.

While capturing enemies held a lot of esteem, the Aztecs would not let that stop them from killing large numbers of enemy soldiers if the situation demanded it. "Depending on the objective of the campaign, they could annihilate their opponents, capture them, or both," Obregón tells us.

IMPORTANCE OF HUMAN SACRIFICE

Ensuring that a steady number of captured enemy soldiers were available for human sacrifice was important for the Aztecs. They sometimes engaged in what were called 'flowery wars', whose main purpose was to capture enemy soldiers and train young soldiers rather than to capture territory. However, the purpose of these 'flowery wars' is a source of debate among scholars, some of whom believe that it was a propaganda term to cover up the fact that a military campaign had failed to capture a city or territory.

Some of the enemy soldiers captured would be sacrificed on top of the Templo Mayor at Tenochtitlán. This temple was about 27 metres high and had at Tzompantli (skull racks) nearby. A Spanish missionary named Toribio de Benavente Motolinia witnessed a sacrifice and wrote: "The high priest who wielded the sacrificial knife struck the blows that smashed through the chest. He then thrust his hand into the cavity which he had opened to rip out the still-beating heart. This he held high as an offering to the sun."

The sacrifice of enemy soldiers not only served ritual purposes but, as Hassig describes, also "served as a forceful reminder to subordinate rulers both of the might of the Aztec military and of the fate of those who rebelled or resisted the empire." This was important as the Aztecs didn't often directly rule captured territories, instead leaving their rulers in place or placing new rulers in charge. Whoever was in charge had to be loyal to the Aztecs, providing them with tribute – whether it be raw material, manufactured goods or other supplies or services.

DECLARING WAR

The Aztecs would give a territory they were trying to conquer the chance to submit peacefully. "They did always offer peaceful incorporation into their empire, giving the would-be new members many advantages. But the context for such offers was always the threat of violence," explains Townsend.

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THE AZTEC PANTHEON

The Aztecs worshipped many different gods for different functions

XIPE TOTEC
GOD OF FERTILITY

Known as 'our flayed lord' and 'the night drinker', this deity would flay himself to give food to humanity, and was also believed to have invented war.

COATLICUE
MOTHER OF THE GODS

'Serpent skirt' Coatlicue's multifaceted role was reflected in her chimeric image. She was the patron goddess of childbirth and a symbol of the earth.

TLAZOLTEOTL
GODDESS OF FILTH, GUILT AND CLEANSING

Tlazolteotl, despite being a deity of vice and adulterers, played an important role in purification and the confession of wrongdoings.

TEZCATLIPOCA
GOD OF DESTINY

Translated as 'smoking mirror', Tezcatlipoca was an elusive and complicated figure of duality and was even referred to as 'enemy of both sides'.

TLALOC GOD OF RAIN

Tlaloc was a hugely important god, not only bringing rain but also fertility and water. He was feared for his ability to bring thunderstorms, and the cult surrounding him was one of the oldest in all of ancient Mexico.

QUETZALCOATL
GOD OF LIFE, WIND AND LEARNING

Known as the 'feathered serpent', Quetzalcoatl also was the patron god of the Aztec priests and was believed to take the form of the morning star (Venus).

HUITZILOPOCHTLI
GOD OF THE SUN

Huitzilopochtli was the patron god of the Aztecs, and also served as a deity of the sacred traditions of war and human sacrifice

LEFT It is thought that the Aztecs preferred to capture enemies as prisoners for sacrifice rather than kill them on the battlefield

MIDDLE Becoming an Eagle or Jaguar Warrior was the highest rank a commoner could reach in the military and came with lands and additional privileges

BOTTOM A warrior would need to capture at least four enemy combatants in order to become an Eagle Warrior

The Aztecs would sometimes instigate a war by demanding a territory outside their control provide tribute. "Generally, a war began with a request... for a particular kind of tribute, which, depending on the area, might be different manufactured items or war materials, among other things," writes Obregón.

There was actually a ritual carried out for the declaring of war. "Typically the Mexica sent an emissary to carry out the ritual of declaring war," says Obregón. "The representative, sent on behalf of the ruling aggressor, offered the following gifts: a lead carbonate ointment, feathers, a shield and darts for armed conflict." The opponent then handed the aggressor a shield decorated with a flower and a macuahuitl. Even if the opponent didn't participate in the ritual it didn't matter, war was declared.

NAVAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WAR

It's not clear if there were dedicated marine or naval units, however Spanish accounts indicate that the Aztecs could field thousands of canoes to fight battles on lakes and rivers.

The Aztecs built their canoes in such a way that they offered warriors in them some protection from projectiles. They also put traps in the water that could damage or sink enemy canoes or ships. One type of trap they used was to place sharp stakes in lakes to puncture any vessel that crossed over them. They also used feigned retreats, rowing away from the enemy, only to lead them into an ambush.

There also seems to have been some coordination between troops in canoes and soldiers on land so that the Aztec troops in canoes could support operations being carried out on land. One tactic, used against the Spanish, was to lure enemy troops towards the shoreline, where troops in canoes would shoot at them with arrows. Canoe-based troops were also used for logistical purposes to transport supplies to land forces.

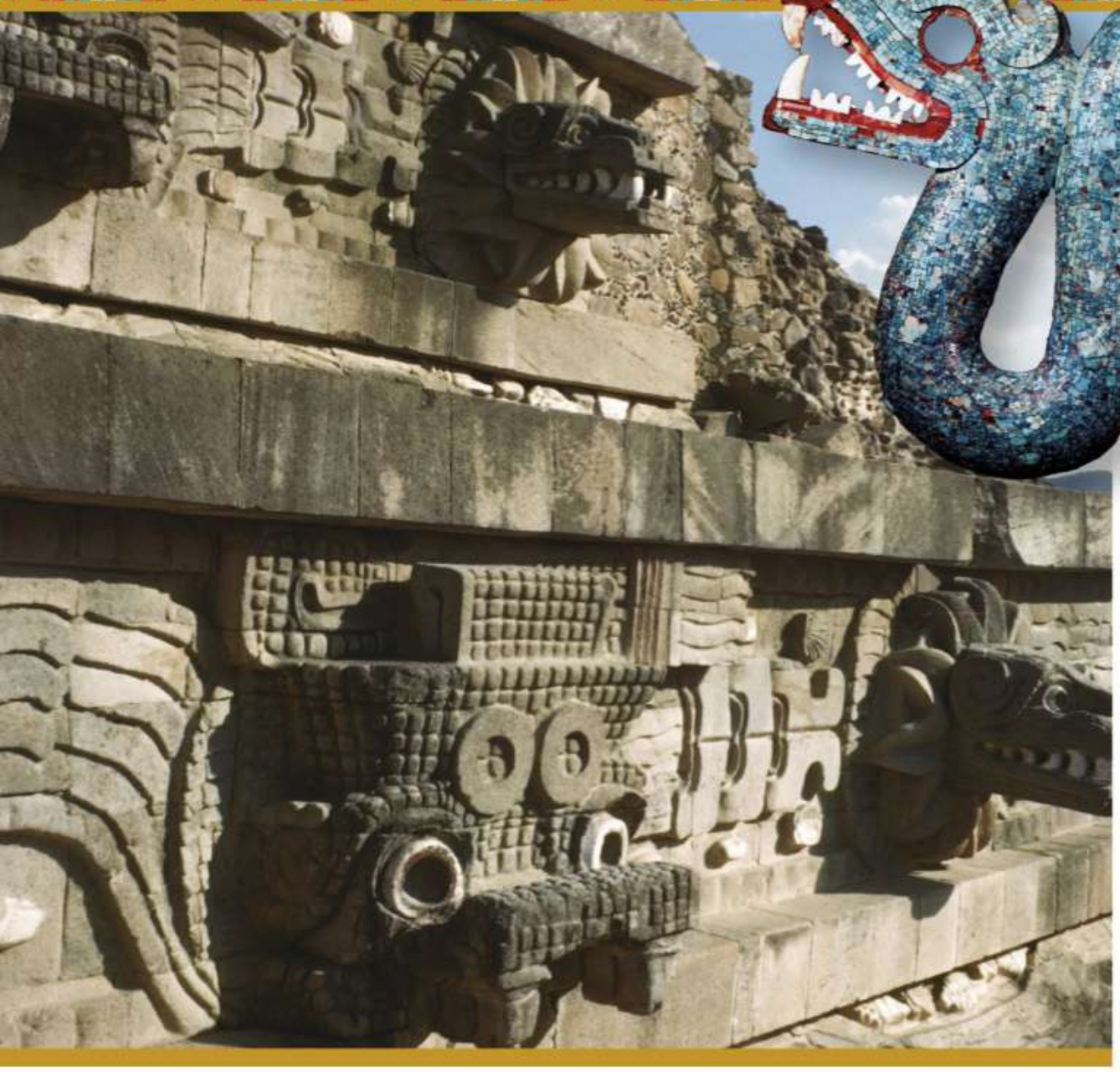
When Cortes conquered Tenochtitlán he and his men endured a difficult time because its defensive island location meant that he had to destroy the Mexica fleet as well as their land forces. While the Spanish were able to use cannons and other gunpowder-based weapons (something that the Aztecs did not have), along with crossbows, historical records indicate that the Spanish and their allies still suffered significant losses taking on the Mexica canoes.

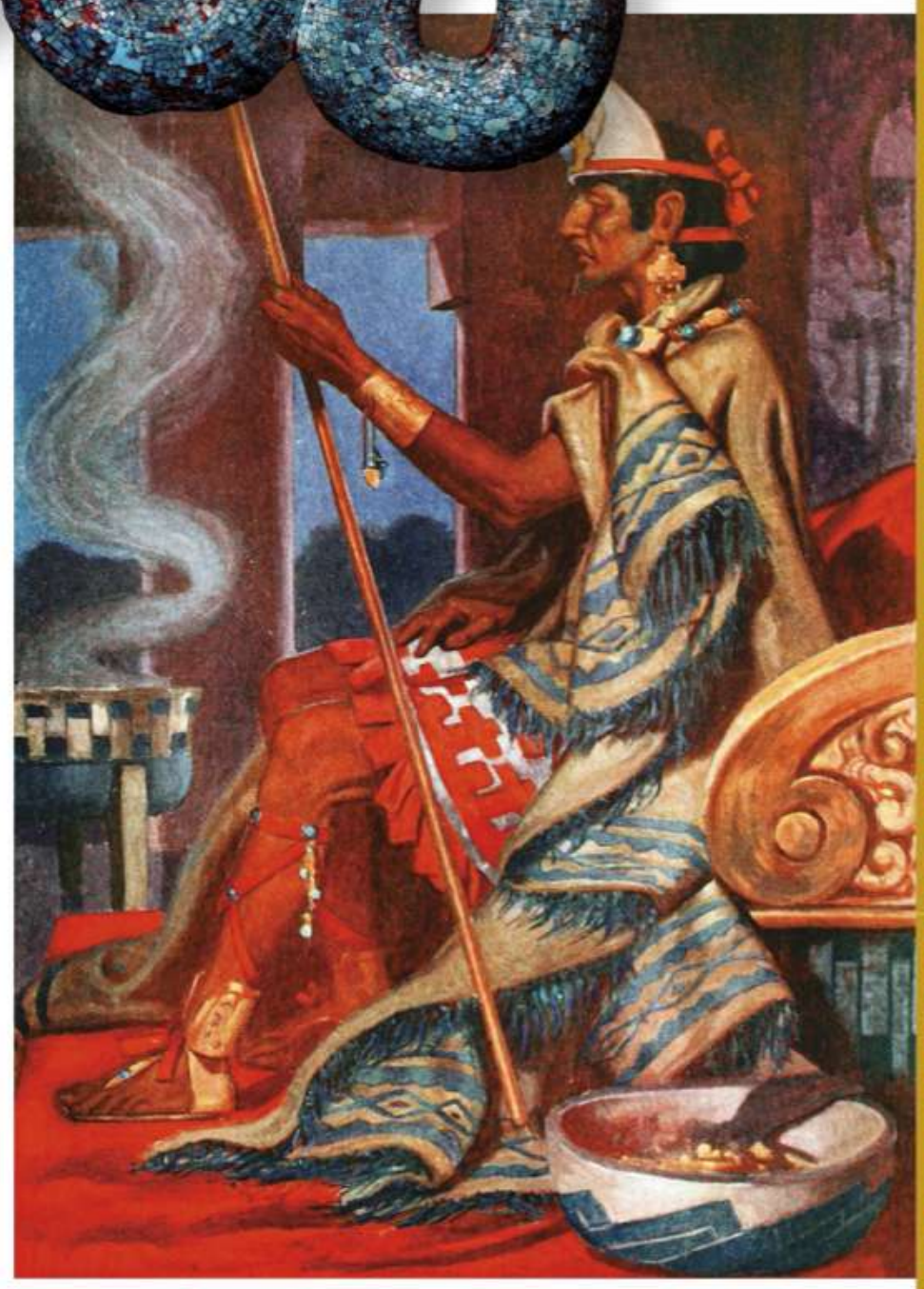
TENOCH
MAN OR MYTH?

Exactly who was the mysterious figure that the city of Tenochtitlán was named after?

As with many figures and events in the Aztec Empire, it's not entirely clear whether the man after whom the great lake city Tenochtitlán was named was actually real. It's possible Tenoch was a retrospective, fictional character specially designed to shore up the mythical founding of the Aztec Empire – or he may have been a real person whose role was later embellished for political purposes.

Either way, it is said that Tenoch was a senior priest, though never a tlatoani (ruler/king). He had been appointed to his post by a council of elders, and is prominently listed in the *Codex Mendoza* on its front page, alongside the other leaders. His glyph is a rock and a prickly pear cactus – referring to the legendary symbols that the Aztecs saw when they reached Lake Texcoco. His entry is particularly notable for the fact his rule is listed as lasting nearly an Aztec century – 52 years. Tenochtitlán was therefore said to have been founded in 1325, and Tenoch died between 1370 and 1375 – so it's certainly possible the city could have been renamed in his honour.





ABOVE The Temple of Quetzalpapalotl in Tenochtitlán as it looked in 1950. The complex is still available to visit today

RIGHT Moctezuma II was ruler when the Mesoamericans first made contact with Europeans and was killed during the Spanish conquest

"DEPENDING ON THE OBJECTIVE OF THE CAMPAIGN, THEY COULD ANNIHILATE THEIR OPPONENTS, CAPTURE THEM, OR BOTH"

Sometimes the Aztecs would also use dams to their advantage in warfare, destroying them so that water would flood the positions occupied by enemy troops.

Psychological tactics were also used, such as screaming at enemies constantly during the night so that they could not get any sleep. Additionally, carrying out human sacrifices while a war was still in progress could horrify their opponents. During the battle for Tenochtitlán the Mexica claimed – falsely – that one of their human sacrifices was Cortes in an effort to spread fear and confusion among the attacking force.

SPANISH INVASION

When the Spanish launched their campaign against the Aztecs they allied with groups who had fought the Aztecs – such as the Tlaxcaltecs and Acolhuas. In fact, historians estimate that Spanish troops only made up about one percent of the force that actually conquered the Aztecs.

A common tactic used during the conquest was that the Spanish used their cannons, firearms and other weapons to disrupt Aztec formations. "The Spaniards had no hope of defeating the Aztecs themselves, but their weapons could penetrate the enemy's lines and the vastly larger [allied] forces could then pour through these breaches, turn the Aztecs' flanks, and defeat them," notes Hassig.

The Spanish had few horses with them during the conquest of the Aztec Empire and these were likely used mainly for scouting and communication. While Spanish records claimed that Spanish lancers were effective against Aztec warriors it appears that the Aztecs had devised countermeasures. "Even after they entered the city, the Aztecs had strewn boulders in their plazas to prevent galloping and attacked the horsemen with stones and projectiles from the adjacent house roofs," explains Hassig.

The steel armour the Spanish wore could be a liability at times because its weight made it easier to drown a Spanish soldier, while the armour's rigidity did not absorb blunt impact from slings as well as the Aztec cotton armour. Additionally, the Spanish armour was uncomfortable to wear in the hot climate unlike the cotton armour worn by the Aztecs.

While diseases brought by Europeans, such as smallpox, decimated indigenous groups in the region, including the Aztecs, this alone would not have been enough to bring the Spanish victory were it not for their local allies. "Had the Spaniards been the sole combatants arrayed against the Aztecs, the conflict would have ended quickly and decidedly in the Aztecs' favour," says Hassig.

While the gunfire support the Spanish provided was helpful, the vast majority of hand-to-hand combat was carried out by the invaders' local allies, who were accustomed to warfare as fought by the Aztecs. Ultimately, the alliance between the Spanish and their local allies resulted in the fall of Tenochtitlán in August 1521 and the collapse of the Aztec Empire.

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Since the 1970 Christopher Street Gay Liberation Day march, activists have been marching in pride parades all over the world

"GREENWICH VILLAGE WAS ONE OF THE ONLY PLACES LGBTQ+ NEW YORKERS COULD GO TO BE THEMSELVES WITHOUT FEAR OF POLICE INTERFERENCE"

New York City, 1969. The regular patrons of the Stonewall Inn, a large but discreet tavern in Greenwich Village, gathered in the steamy summer heat on 28 June to enjoy a night of flirting, drinking and dancing. Like many that frequented New York's gay bars of the era, they were trying to live their lives away from the watchful eyes of the police. But that night a violent turn of events became a paramount step in the fight for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender rights: the Stonewall Riots changed the course of history for the community all over the world.

At the time, Greenwich Village was one of the only places LGBTQ+ New Yorkers could go to be themselves without fear of police interference. In 1960s New York, homosexual activity, including kissing, dancing or holding hands with someone of the same sex, was illegal. The police were notorious for sniffing out even a hint of 'deviancy'. Dressing in drag was a criminal offence, drag queens and transgender women were regularly put in handcuffs and carted off to the nearest police station, while lesbians and transgender men were routinely arrested for wearing trousers and a shirt. The 'three-article rule' became a problem for many on the run-up to the Stonewall Riots. It required women to wear three pieces of female clothing to avoid being arrested for cross-dressing, even though the law didn't technically exist. The police often abused their power by reviving antiquated laws to target the LGBTQ+ community.

With homosexuality being illegal in the state of New York, the State Liquor Authority considered establishments openly serving alcohol to gay, lesbian and transgender customers to be indecent and disorderly, and refused to issue liquor licences to many gay bars as a result. Although the gay bars of Greenwich offered respite from public scrutiny, many were repeatedly raided by the police for this reason. In 1966, a low-earning pub on Christopher Street was refurbished and reopened as famed gay bar the Stonewall

PRIDE AND JOY

How the uprising at New York City gay bar, the Stonewall Inn, paved the way for LGBTQ+ rights

Written by Poppy-Jay St Palmer

LEFT After Stonewall and the first Pride marches, protests against LGBTQ+ discrimination became more common

BELOW LEFT A crowd of LGBTQ+ patrons attempt to impede the police raid of the Stonewall Inn on the night of 28 June 1969

BELOW Members of the Gay Liberation Front campaign against the exploitation of women, among other causes

Inn by the Mafia, who hoped to profit off of the LGBTQ+ community by offering protection while they drank, danced and socialised. By this time, the Genovese crime family controlled most of the Greenwich Village gay bars, and they even paid off the police to ensure that they could remain open for business without a liquor licence.

The Stonewall Inn was registered as a 'bottle bar', meaning patrons were supposed to bring their own booze so it didn't require a liquor licence. It almost goes without saying that the Mafia didn't have the LGBTQ+ community's best interests at heart and was instead obsessed with staying open and making money. They bribed the local precinct to ignore the bar's activities, and attendees were forced to sign their names in a book upon entry to maintain its privacy. The conditions of the club itself were bleak: cost-cutting meant there was no fire exit or running water behind the bar, the toilets regularly overflowed and the illegal liquor that was being sold was massively watered down (another federal offence). It's also believed that the Mafia took advantage of the book-signing rule to blackmail the bar's wealthier patrons by threatening to out them.

Yet despite the Stonewall Inn's faults people kept going there because it was the only bar in New York that allowed people of the same sex to dance together. It also became a hot spot for drag queens and

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transgender people, who often weren't welcomed by gays and lesbians at other gay bars in the city.

The historic police raid at the Stonewall Inn began in the early hours of 28 June 1969. The tavern's clientele had become used to the police proceedings, and could well have submitted and marked it down as another night out with their community that had come to an abrupt but expected end. In fact, corrupt cops would often tip off bars ahead of planned raids for a small fee, and the Stonewall Inn had actually already been raided earlier in the same week. However, something about this night was different.

Armed with a warrant, police began shaking people down before violently hauling them out of the bar. Initially, 13 patrons and employees were arrested that night, for everything from selling bootlegged alcohol to cross-dressing (female police officers even took suspected cross-dressers into the bathrooms to check their genitals). But the raid didn't quite go to plan: unable to tolerate the police brutality any longer, bar patrons and neighbourhood residents refused to back down, and a riot broke out.

Those that had been thrown out of the bar refused to disperse and were aggressively manhandled by police. One patron, who is believed to have been well-known butch lesbian and drag performer named Stormé DeLarverie, was hit over the head as an officer forced her into a police van. Her ten-minute-long struggle with the officer incited the crowd to start throwing pennies, stones, bottles and more at the police in retaliation.

"ARMED WITH A WARRANT, POLICE BEGAN TO SHAKE PEOPLE DOWN BEFORE HAULING THEM OUT OF THE BAR"

ABOVE The Stonewall Inn in Greenwich Village, New York City, was the location of the riot that kickstarted the gay rights movement in the United States

Trans rights activist Marsha P Johnson was one of the most prominent faces of the Stonewall Riots

After her death in 2014, DeLarverie's friend Lisa Cannistraci told *The New York Times*: "Nobody knows who threw the first punch, but it's rumoured that she did, and she said she did." DeLarverie affectionately became known as the 'Rosa Parks of Stonewall'.

As the night went on, more and more people got involved until the police found themselves up against hundreds of impassioned protestors. Police barricaded themselves in the bar as the crowd outside attempted to set it on fire. Calling in backup, the police got the fire department and riot squad involved to put out the flames and break up the crowds. Despite the authorities' best efforts, the riots continued on and off for six long days, both outside the bar on Christopher Street and in the nearby Christopher Park. When Greenwich Village's newspaper *The Village Voice* published a report on the riot (dubbing it 'The Great Faggot Rebellion'), word quickly got out and protesters came in their thousands.

The Stonewall Riots made headlines. Though many members of the straight, cisgender public were outraged (for the wrong reasons), many others saw it as something of a joke. *The New York Daily News* published an article titled 'Homo Nest Raided, Queen Bees are Stinging

Mad'. "Last weekend the queens had turned commandos and stood bra strap to bra strap against an invasion of the helmeted Tactical Patrol Force," wrote reporter Jerry Lisker in the 6 July 1969 edition of the paper. "The elite police squad had shut down one of their private gay clubs, the Stonewall Inn at 57 Christopher St., in the heart of a three-block homosexual community in Greenwich Village. Queen Power reared its bleached blonde head in revolt. New York City experienced its first homosexual riot. 'We may have lost the battle, sweets, but the war is far from over,' lisped an unofficial lady-in-waiting from the court of the Queens."

While much of the nation pulled faces in disgust or laughed behind their hands, news of the Stonewall Riots stirred something in the hearts of gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender activists wanting change. After the Civil Rights and Women's liberation movements of the 1960s succeeded in bringing about change for the United States' Black communities and female citizens, reformation for other marginalised groups began to feel more achievable. The events at Stonewall heralded a turning point: suddenly, the members of the LGBTQ+ community felt more empowered than ever to organise and demand their rights.

Before the riots, the Mattachine Society, a gay activism organisation formed in Los Angeles in 1950, dominated the gay rights scene of the era and campaigned to help homosexual men assimilate into society's established roles. After Stonewall, however, this was no longer enough. LGBTQ+ rights campaigners didn't want to conform. Instead, they demanded to be liberated. Almost immediately after the riots, two new organisations were formed: the Gay Liberation Front (GLF) and the Gay Activists Alliance (GAA).

Two weeks after its formation, the Gay Libaration Front sent out a notice that they were organising. "We are a revolutionary homosexual group of men

The Lavender Scare

During the McCarthy era, the American public learned to fear the LGBTQ+ community

For much of the 19th century, same-sex relationships had been discreetly tolerated in America, but the advancement of legal and medical jargon in the 1900s brought with it a rhetoric that homosexuality was a dangerous illness. As a result, law enforcement across the United States began cracking down. Things got worse still during the McCarthy era, when the promotion of fear of the supposed rise of communism, anarchism and other 'leftist' propaganda, known as the Red Scare, was in full force.

The steadily growing conversation around LGBTQ+ people inspired what became known as the Lavender Scare, a moral panic around gay, lesbian and transgender people that was born from the public paranoia around the Cold War. People saw members of the community as corrupt menaces that were especially susceptible to communism.

In a debate on the Senate floor in 1950, Senator Kenneth Wherry asked colleagues: "Can [you] think of a person who could be more dangerous to the United states of America than a pervert?" (As recorded in David K Johnson's book *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in Federal Government*.)

Following the debate, nearly 600 gay, lesbian and transgender federal civil servants were fired from their jobs, which some journalists dubbed the 'purge of the perverts'. Other workplaces followed suit, and people all over the United States were forced to keep their private lives secret or face the risk of dismissal.

Senator Joe McCarthy (right) led the Red Scare in 1950s America

400 More Homosexuals Ousted from Gov't Jobs

Washington, D. C., March 25.—A prompt drive to kick 400 known homosexuals off the Government payrolls may overshadow the showdown scheduled for next week in the Congressional probe of alleged State Department Commies, it was predicted here today.

The climax in the disloyalty investigation is set for Monday, when a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee questions FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover on charges that his secret files prove there is a "top Russian spy" still connected with the State Department. The charges were made by Senator

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Stonewall Royalty

Icons of the uprising that you should know about

Marsha P Johnson

Marsha P Johnson was a transgender woman from New Jersey, and perhaps one of the most prominent faces of the Stonewall Riots. In 1966, she moved to New York City and legally changed her name, telling people the 'P' stood for 'Pay it no mind' (an answer to the question of whether she was male or female). Like many transgender people living in the area at the time she was homeless, but that didn't stop her from trying to better the lives of others. She was known for being a courageous transgender rights activist and is remembered for throwing rocks during the Stonewall uprising.

Sylvia Rivera

Present at the Stonewall uprising, Sylvia Rivera was a fierce transgender activist, drag queen and advocate for other people that fell outside the gender binary. As a Latina trans woman, she wasn't often represented in the conversation around US gay rights and lived her life on the margins. In fact, when she stood up to speak at the rally that took place on Christopher Street Liberation Day in 1970 she was booed by much of the crowd, the majority of which were white gays and lesbians. But she never stopped pushing back: alongside Marsha P Johnson, she co-founded STAR, the Sweet Transvestite Action Revolutionaries, and spent much of her life serving her community.

Stormé DeLarverie

Shortly before the uprising at Stonewall, word got around that police had arrested a woman described as a 'dyke-stone butch' and had used unnecessary force to haul her into a police van. Shouting and swearing at the growing crowd, she encouraged onlookers to start fighting back and is believed to have been the first to incite the riot on Christopher Street. Many believe that woman was Stormé DeLarverie, a mixed-race butch lesbian from racially segregated New Orleans, and a drag king who would often perform at the famed Jewel Box Review. When in New York, she frequented the Stonewall Inn and, if the rumours are true, left quite the legacy.

Image source: New York Public Library

"MORE STONEWALL INN PATRONS GOT INVOLVED UNTIL THE POLICE FOUND THEMSELVES UP AGAINST HUNDREDS OF IMPASSIONED PROTESTORS"

and women formed with the realisation that complete sexual liberation for all people cannot come about unless existing social institutions are abolished," read its Statement of Purpose. "We reject society's attempt to impose sexual roles and definitions on our nature. We are stepping outside these roles and simplistic myths. We are going to be who we are. At the same time, we are creating new social forms and relations, that is, relations based upon brotherhood, cooperation, human love and uninhibited sexuality. Babylon has forced us to commit to one thing... revolution."

Unlike the Mattachine Society, the GLF saw the bigger picture and took a more intersectional approach to their campaigns. They considered the implications on race, class and gender, as well as the influences of capitalism. However, many of the group's followers thought it lacked focus and method. As a result, they had left and created the Gay Activists Alliance,

which focused on one key goal: gay and lesbian rights. In his book *The Politics of Homosexuality*, Toby Marotta describes the GAA as a "single issue, politically neutral [organisation, whose goal would be to] secure basic human rights, dignity and freedom for all gay people." The group got to work organising its response to the mistreatment and misconception of the community. They held protests against gay bar raids and protests that called attention to gay and lesbian rights.

On 28 June 1970, on the first anniversary of the uprising at the Stonewall Inn, thousands of LGBTQ+ activists gathered in New York City to mark the occasion by marching through the streets. Originally dubbed 'Christopher Street Gay Liberation Day', the procession spanned around 50 blocks, with protesters marching in single file for some of it in order to cover more ground. The community had reached breaking point and was determined to do whatever it took to gain rights and acceptance. "The [march] was as revolutionary and chaotic as everything we did that first year after the Stonewall Riots," said Mark Segal, an early member of the GLF and the marshal of the first pride march, in *The New York Times*. "The march was a reflection of us: out, loud and proud. We intended to march from Greenwich Village and up to Central Park. We didn't have a police permit, so no one knew exactly what would happen – no one knew the type of force that might greet us. So we held self-defence classes and learned how to protect ourselves."

Although the New York pride march was the largest that year, it wasn't the first. Gay liberation groups around the country had begun organising following Stonewall, and the first marching response came from Chicago on 27 June 1970, where 150 protesters marched from Civic Centre Plaza to Washington Square. In Los Angeles on 28 June, protesters were met with resistance from the police, who refused to issue them a permit and forced them to take the matter up in court. Across the country, LGBTQ+ people gave onlookers something to stare at. Gay and bisexual men marched topless, held hands and kissed. Groups chanted and brandished banners with slogans like "Gay power to gay people", "Gay, gay, all the way!" and "Gay is good". People who had previously kept their private lives private came out to protest, loudly and proudly.

As the marches made headlines, people took notice and LGBTQ+ communities across the world joined the fight. As the years passed, more marches were established in towns and cities everywhere, covering more members of the community and issues that have changed with the times. The first transgender pride march, dubbed Existrans, took place in Paris in 1997 and has included the intersex community since 2007. In parts of the world with more progressive LGBTQ+ rights laws, pride has evolved from political rallies into annual rainbow-filled parties, while others are still marching for basic rights and recognition. But whatever pride looks like for you, we owe so much to the patrons of the Stonewall Inn, and those that threw the first bricks.

ABOVE Activists take to the streets in London during International Gay Pride Week, marking the tenth anniversary of Stonewall

RIGHT People leave tributes at the Gay Liberation Monument in New York City

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Font: © Getty Images

ZENOBIA

WARRIOR QUEEN

How the self-proclaimed heir to Cleopatra and Queen Dido of Carthage forged herself an empire amid Rome's troubles

Written by Murray Dahm

Born in around 240 CE to an aristocratic Palmyrene family, Zenobia (her name may have been Bat-Zabbai or Na'ilah in her own language) married Septimius Odenathus at the age of 17 or 18. He was an important local aristocrat, an experienced general and the military commander of Palmyra. Odenathus was already a widower and had a son, Septimius Hairan (or Haeranes) Herodianus, by his first marriage. Zenobia would also give Odenathus a son, Septimius Vaballathus, born between 258 and 260 CE; there may also have been more sons, Septimius Antiochus, Herennianus, Timolaus and possibly another Hairan. We are also told of two daughters. Although no known statue or likeness of Zenobia can be identified with confidence, her portrait survives on coins and she was renowned for her beauty, wit and education. Despite the fact she became an enemy of Rome, the sources, especially the historian Zosimus and the *Historia Augusta*, record a complex and nuanced picture of her life.

Rome in crisis

The position Odenathus occupied seems to have been a new one and may reflect the precarious position of Rome in the 3rd century. Since around 235 CE the Roman Empire had experienced enormous upheavals as the stability of the 2nd century, when the empire reached its greatest extent, gave way to a series of political and military crises, both internal and external. The assassination of the emperor Severus Alexander in 235 CE led to more than 60 years of tremendous disruption that would only come to an end with the emperor Diocletian (r.284-305 CE). Emperors were assassinated with alarming regularity and usurpers arose just as regularly, making a claim on the imperial throne. The armies of the various provinces chose their own imperial candidates and, with the threat of military ▶

Four Zenobia Facts

Vital things to know about the empress and her realm

Independence of Palmyra

The wealthy city state of Palmyra held a unique position in the Roman Empire. It functioned as an independent colony, free to collect its own taxes, but privy to the protection of the emperor. Palmyra grew rich off the taxes levied on caravans travelling the Silk Road to the west.

Lost in translation

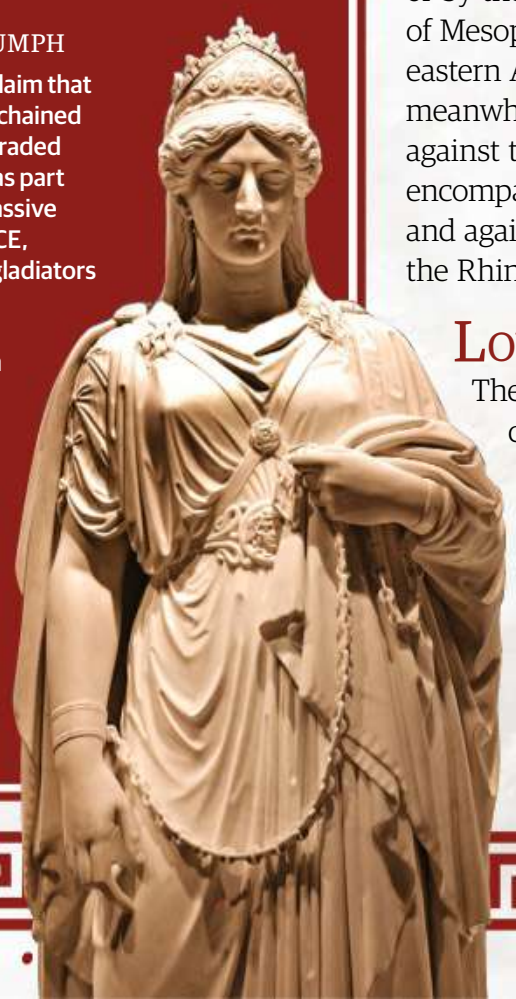
Zenobia's full name in Greek was Septimia Zenobia, but was most likely a Latinisation of the Arabic al-Zabba, which was itself a translation of Zenobia's true Aramaic name, Bat-Zabbai, or 'daughter of Zabbai'. Her native language was Aramaic.

Spice security

As a critical stop on the Silk Road, Palmyra was responsible for protecting the silk and spice caravans along the stretch of road within its boundaries. The task fell to private armies of swift horsemen that earned a reputation for their prowess at repelling bandits.

Roman triumph

Some sources claim that a captured and chained Zenobia was paraded through Rome as part of Aurelian's massive triumph in 274 CE, featuring 800 gladiators and conquered captives from every barbarian tribe. Some say she rode in a golden chariot he had built for her entrance into Rome.



force (or actual violence in some cases), made them emperor, one after another. Several provinces broke away to form empires of their own in Gaul and Britain, Egypt, and in Palmyra. When Zenobia married Odenathus in 258 CE, however, such a break was not inevitable. Odenathus, it seems, was given the military command of Palmyra to try and maintain or restore Roman control of the region.

Palmyra was an important and wealthy merchant city in the Roman province of Syria-Phoenice. Close to the eastern border (the Euphrates River) with Sassanid Persia, Palmyra also had a strong military garrison to act as both protection and deterrent from raiding. Odenathus used these forces to assist the military campaign of the emperor Valerian (r.253-260 CE) against the Persians in 260 CE. The campaign was a disaster and Valerian was captured by the Persians after the Battle of Edessa (he was either killed soon after or in around 264 CE). He was the first Roman emperor to have been captured and this further destabilised Roman control in the region as well as elsewhere in the empire.

The Persian king, Shapur I, launched several far-reaching raids into Roman territory, reaching as far as Anatolia in modern day Turkey. Valerian's son, Gallienus, became emperor (r.260-268 CE) but a usurper, Fulvius Macrinus, also claimed the throne. The army in Gaul revolted and established their own empire under Postumus (r. 260-269 CE). Meanwhile, Odenathus remained loyal to Rome (and to the rightful emperor, Gallienus) and defeated Shapur in battle in late 260 CE. He marched against Macrinus' son, Quietus, who had taken over Syria and then re-established Roman control of all the areas in the east taken by usurpers or by the Persians. He took back control of Mesopotamia, Syria, the Levant and eastern Anatolia as far as Ancyra. Gallienus, meanwhile, remained preoccupied fighting against the Gallic empire of Postumus that encompassed Gaul, Germania and Britain, and against various belligerent tribes along the Rhine and Danube rivers.

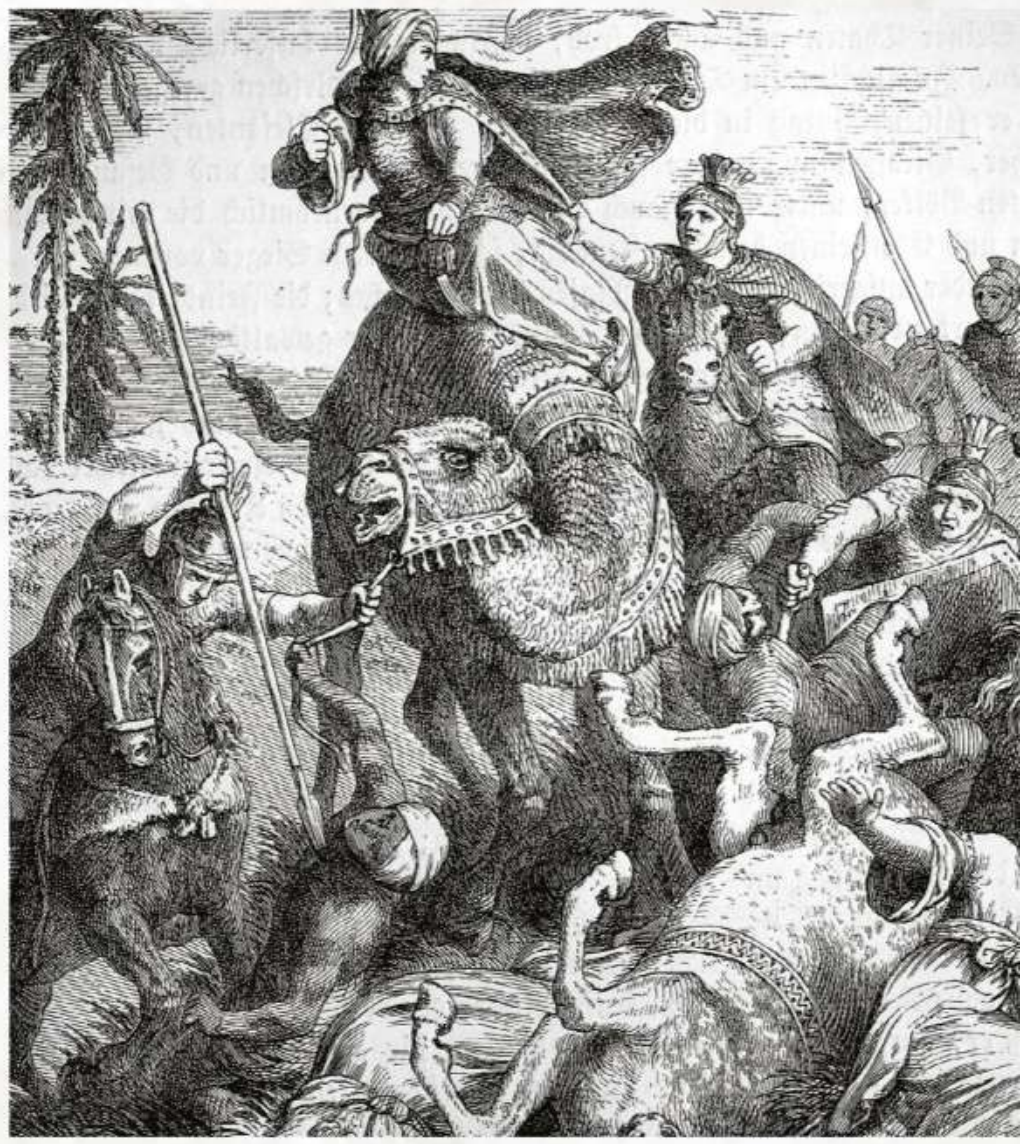
Loyal widow

The pattern of events of the 3rd century would soon catch up with Odenathus, however. By 367 CE he had made his son Hairan co-regent of the east but both men were assassinated that year. We do not know by who. It was once claimed that an ambitious Zenobia may have done away with her husband but there is very little evidence for this. In fact, she remained loyal to her husband's memory although she also showed herself more than capable of filling his shoes. Zenobia quickly sought to have Vaballathus recognised as Odenathus' successor with command of the same troops and in the same position as de-facto ruler of the Roman east. Vaballathus can have been little more than ten years old, however, so the power behind the throne was Zenobia herself who, as dowager was also co-regent.

Zenobia was popular with the army and had campaigned with her husband (it was not unusual for senior commanders to be accompanied on campaign by their wives and families). She also had the support of commanders Zabdas and Zabbai (who may have been relatives). The strength and foresight Zenobia showed avoided a civil war in the east, all the while remaining loyal to Gallienus and Rome; all that she did was in the name of Rome and its emperor. The mints of the east only minted coins of the emperor and his successor, Claudius Gothicus (r. 268-270 CE); Gallienus had been assassinated in 268 CE. Zenobia led the way in recruiting auxiliaries from Arab tribes into her (Roman) army, and also strengthened border fortifications facing Persia along the Euphrates River.

Independence

In 270 CE, however, there was an abrupt change in Zenobia's behaviour. We are



not exactly sure why, but in that year she dramatically changed course and established Palmyra as an independent and powerful kingdom in its own right that looked to expand its existing lands and carve out an empire of its own. At Rome, Claudius Gothicus died of the plague (yet another of the crises facing the empire) and was replaced by his brother Quintillus who reigned only a matter of days (the most generous estimate is 77 days) before he was assassinated by his own soldiers. This additional uncertainty may have played a part in Zenobia's bid for independence – what was it she was being loyal to exactly? Others consider that the emperor Claudius may have sought to depose her and this led to the break. Historians used to think that Zenobia had always intended to break away from Rome and had simply bided her time. This makes little sense since Gallienus had not been in a position to prevent her breaking away in 267 CE, nor, in reality, had Claudius. At Rome, the emperor Aurelian (r.270-275 CE) eventually established himself. Of lowly birth, he had risen to be Gallienius' cavalry commander and inherited an empire riven by war, all of which he would fight successfully despite his (relatively) short reign.

"Zenobia was popular with the army and had campaigned with her husband"

Zenobia, perhaps as early as February 270 CE, launched a campaign against the Roman province of Arabia (encompassing modern Jordan and the Levant as far as Gaza). Zenobia accompanied the army, Zabdas commanded it, and she left her general Zabbai in charge at Palmyra. One of the Arabian tribes, the Tanukh, were the ancestral enemies of Palmyra so this campaign might have been excused as still within the bounds of loyalty to Rome. The next was not. After annexing Roman Arabia, Zenobia's army crossed the Sinai Desert in the summer of 270 CE to attack Egypt with 70,000 troops. Egypt was arguably the wealthiest province of the empire; it was also the emperor's personal responsibility. An attack on Egypt signalled definitively that Zenobia had broken with Rome. Egypt fell to Zenobia with ease; Palmyrene merchants had most probably prepared the way (and told her that the Roman governor of Egypt was occupied fighting on Cyprus). The attempted counter-attack was anticipated and also defeated; Palmyra's empire now encompassed most of the eastern Roman provinces. Coinage of Zenobia and Vaballathus began to be minted claiming that he was Imperator, Caesar and Augustus (very Roman titles). Zenobia began titling herself as Augusta and Septimia Zenobia Sebaste.

Zenobia next marched on western Anatolia. Here, for the first time as far

TOP It's believed that the captured Zenobia was paraded through Rome as part of Aurelian's Triumph upon his return

ABOVE A bronze coin of Zenobia from around 272 CE, minted in Alexandria

LEFT Faced with the might of the Roman Empire, Zenobia refused to back down

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Zenobia Timeline

Key events in the life of the Palmyrene empress

240 CE

A queen is born

Zenobia is born into the ruling family of Palmyra and schooled in language, philosophy, horse riding and hunting. She would claim lineage with Cleopatra.

258 CE

Her match in marriage

Zenobia becomes the second wife of Odaenathus, whose bravery and cunning on the battlefield are a perfect match for his ambitious young warrior bride.

259 CE

An heir in waiting

Zenobia has a son, Vaballathus, but the direct heir to the Palmyrene throne is Hairan, a child by Odaenathus' first wife.

FAR-LEFT Not long after taking control of Palmyra, Zenobia set her eye on expanding her empire

LEFT A depiction of Zenobia sentencing Maeonius to death for the murder of her husband and step-son

as the sources tell us, she encountered local populations who were not pleased to see her. This tells us that she had probably been welcomed throughout the east, even in Egypt, as the strong hand they thought they needed, especially as a strong hand from Rome had been distinctly lacking. Unfortunately for Zenobia, that Roman hand was curling into a fist and it would not be long before it would turn towards the east to deliver a hammer blow.

Rome reacts

Emperor Aurelian had inherited wars against the empire of Postumus, all along the Rhine and Danube, and against the breakaway empire of Palmyra. Systematically, Aurelian defeated the warring tribes along the Rhine and Danube in the years 270-272 CE and, before turning on Postumus' empire (now ruled by Tetricus I (r.271-274 CE), he marched against Palmyra later in 272 CE.

Zenobia might have been able to withdraw and paid obeisance to Aurelian although it is unlikely she would have been trusted. Instead, she chose to resist. Aurelian launched one force to re-take Egypt under his general Probus, while personally leading another into Anatolia.

The cities quickly returned to their former loyalty to Rome and Aurelian advanced rapidly. Zenobia and her army awaited him near Antioch but were defeated at the Battle of Immae in 272 CE despite outnumbering the enemy. The Palmyrenes retreated to Emesa but, there, were defeated again (this time the Romans outnumbered the Palmyrenes).

Zenobia was able to escape with her son and Zabdas but lost her treasury; she retreated to Palmyra itself to await the inevitable siege. Palmyra had no walls, however, so it was probably more of a blockade. As it dragged on negotiations began, apparently offering Zenobia a dignified retirement if she surrendered. Zenobia refused. According to the *Historia Augusta*, this was due to her arrogance but the sources may have painted a particularly pro-Roman and anti-Zenobian picture. Clemency from Aurelian was far from guaranteed. What is more, several Palmyrene allies remained loyal to Palmyra even with a victorious Roman army present in the region. This suggests both widespread support for Zenobia and that trust in Rome was far from restored. Zenobia may even have considered an alliance with the Persian King Shapur I – perhaps eastern relations were considered more important than those with (distant) Rome. He did not invade but sent a small number of troops to Palmyra.

"As the blockade dragged on, Zenobia staged a daring night-time escape"

Ignominious end

As the blockade dragged on, Zenobia staged a daring night-time escape. She and a small entourage, mounted on racing camels, made a dash from the city under cover of darkness, probably towards the Euphrates and safety within Persian lands. The Roman patrols were, however, able to overtake them and Zenobia was captured. Palmyra surrendered to Aurelian immediately. Zenobia was taken back to Rome and paraded in the cities along the way – shown in heavy gold chains and riding a camel, a symbol of both the east and of what happens if you betray Rome.

According to Zosimus she died along the route. According to the *Historia Augusta* she was paraded in Aurelian's Triumph in Rome in 274 CE (after Aurelian had defeated the empire of Postumus). Possibly she was kept under house arrest before that. After the Triumph she was allowed to retire to a villa at Tibur where she lived with her surviving children – only one source claims she was decapitated. She may even have married again, to a Roman senator. Her memory has transcended her end and she's remembered as an independent, romantic and tragic figure, inextricably tied up with the impressive ruins of Palmyra itself. Her story of a wise, courageous and determined queen who carved out an empire of her own has inspired artists, authors and composers throughout the ages.

266 CE
Assassination of Odaenathus

Odaenathus and his eldest son die. The circumstances are unclear. His nephew Maeonius has been accused, as has Rome and Zenobia herself. Zenobia is now regent for her son.

269 CE
Taking Egypt

Zenobia and her trusted general march uncontested into Egypt while Rome's military are fighting off Goth invaders and Libyan pirates. Zenobia is seen as the rightful heir to Cleopatra.

270 CE
Face fit for a coin

Zenobia orders the Alexandria mint to produce new coins featuring her silhouette and the inscription "S. Zenobia Aug", shorthand for Septimia Zenobia Augusta, Empress of the East.

271 CE
Bread baroness

Zenobia further provokes Rome by cutting off Egyptian wheat exports to the imperial capital, where politicians assuage the plebeians with free bread and circuses.

272 CE
Eastern empire

At its peak, Zenobia's Palmyrene Empire absorbs the entire eastern shore of the Mediterranean, stretching from the Nile to the Black Sea.

273 CE
Aurelian strikes back

Having defeated the Goths, Emperor Aurelian turns his attention east to the Palmyrene Empire. Aurelian spares the citizens of conquered cities, causing even more to surrender peacefully.

274 CE
Siege of Palmyra

Aurelian attempts to strike a deal with Zenobia. She retorts with the threat of reinforcements from Persia. Aurelian surrounds and starves out the city, bringing Palmyra to its knees.

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HISTORY OF HALLOWEEN

From trick or treat to carved pumpkins, uncover the origins of beloved All Hallows' Eve traditions

Written by Callum McKelvie

As the autumn leaves begin to fall and the nights grow longer, you may already have noticed a chill in the air. It's the season when costumed creatures walk the streets and carved Jack O'Lanterns illuminate the fields. That's right, Halloween is nearly upon us once again. According to Statista, around $10.1bn is spent by Americans on Halloween every year, with the average consumer spending at least $100 – $30 of this going on candy alone. Yet despite Halloween now being a multi-billion dollar industry with annual 'scare events' and huge festivals such as Universal Studios' theme park horror nights, its history is equally as rich and as spook-tacular as the modern interpretation. From ancient Celtic festivals to Irish legends of pumpkin-headed spirits wandering the Earth, the most terrifying night of the year has an equally spine-chilling past.

EXPERT BIO

Photo by: Seth Ryan

LISA MORTON

Lisa Morton is an American author with an obsession for all things spooky. As well as writing a number of historical works, including *Calling The Spirits: A History of Seances* and *Ghosts: A Haunted History*, she has also written novels and screenplays.

THE ORIGINS OF HALLOWEEN

The origins of Halloween are perhaps not as easy to pinpoint as one might initially expect, and a number of historical holidays are linked to All Hallows' Eve. One festival often connected with the history of Halloween is the Celtic festival of Samhain. However, despite the popular writings of an 18th century scholar and engineer known as Charles Vallancey proclaiming this to be a festival to the Celtic 'Lord of the Dead', it was actually the time during which the Irish Celts would celebrate the coming of the new year. "As the border between years the Celts also believed it was a time when the barrier between our world and the other world was at its thinnest," Lisa Morton, author of *Trick or Treat: A History of Halloween* (Reaktion Books, 2008), tells us. "They thought mischievous fairies (the sidh) could cross over and wreak all kinds of havoc, like bringing corpses to life or burning down palaces." The spirits of dead loved ones were believed to return to the Earth, leading to customs such as leaving doors open and laying food on the table. A popular Samhain tradition was the telling of stories such as *The Adventures of Nera* – a creepy tale of living corpses and fairy armies.

Vallancey was largely dismissed during his own time and quite how his bizarre concept of the festival caught on is something of a mystery. "When Samhain was still around, the Church practised a doctrine called syncretism, which was all about co-opting existing pagan celebrations," says Morton. "Vallancey's suggestion that Samhain included worship of a Lord of Death

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paved the way for the misinterpretation of Halloween as some sort of Satanic holiday. Thanks to that mistake, churches are now far likelier to try to suppress the holiday than they were in the past." The idea of Samhain as celebrating the 'Lord of the Dead' can be seen in works of popular culture, including the *Halloween* franchise of horror films, with the Celtic word first being name-checked in 1981's *Halloween II*. "There is debate among Halloween scholars about how much Samhain really influenced the modern Halloween," Morton reveals. "I fall into the camp that believes Halloween owes its macabre side to Samhain and the Celts' spooky stories."

Another religious celebration that was integral to the development of Halloween as we know and love it today is the Catholic festival of All Saints' Day, which preceded All Souls' Day. "All Saints' Day is absolutely the other side of Halloween," Morton explains. "In fact, the holiday's name derives from All Hallows' Eve where 'hallows' means 'saints' and 'eve' is because the celebration actually started at sundown on the night before 1 November, which is technically All Saints' Day." The decision to move the date was possibly an attempt not only to stamp out the worship of the Celtic festival but also to convert any wayward Celts to the beliefs of the Catholic missionaries. Many of the traditions associated with Samhain instead now take place on 31 October each year. As Jean Markale states in his work *The Pagan Mysteries of Halloween*: "It was better to tolerate the grotesque in a fixed period of time than have it loom up right in the middle of a sacred ceremony."

HALLOWEEN TRADITIONS

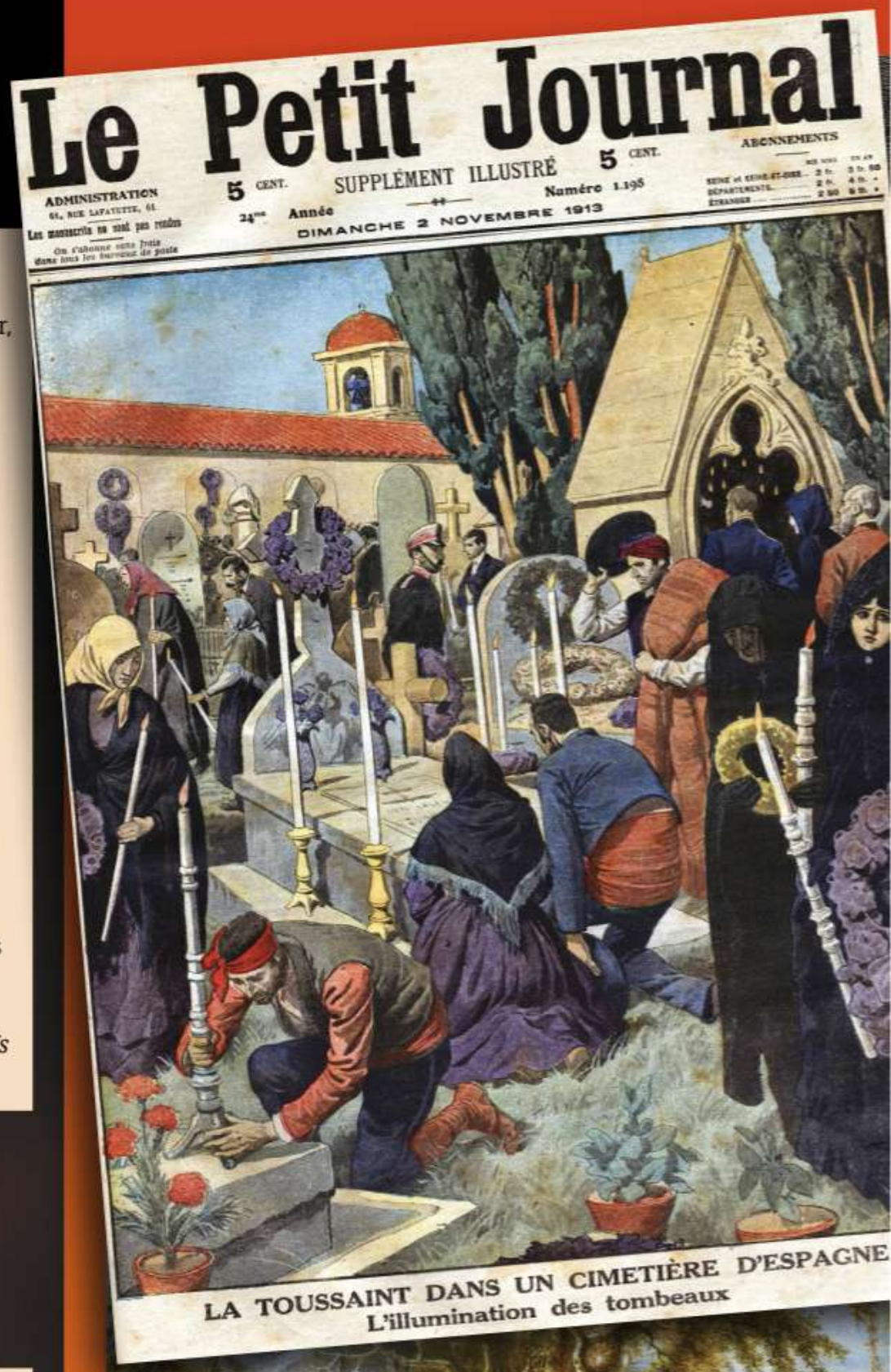
The modern version of the festival first truly began to appear during the 19th century in the United States. During this period European immigrants brought with them a number of their own holidays and festivities. Slowly but surely, through this process, Halloween began to grow in popularity. By the 1960s the holiday had become something of a business, with mass-produced costumes and toys being sold. Halloween merchandise, however, had already been available for some time. In 2022 the tradition of sending cards to your friends or loved ones to celebrate a particular holiday is usually reserved exclusively for the Christmas period. At the dawn of the 20th century this was not the case and receiving a card from a friend to celebrate All Hallows would not have been unusual. Some of the most striking of these cards were made by the John Winsch Company, who were known for their highly detailed and decorated illustrations. Hallmark (still a well-known producer of greeting cards) had been producing Halloween cards since the 1920s. By the 1960s the company was producing large decorations as well as children's masks and costumes. One popular piece of Halloween merchandise in the early half of the 20th century was *Dennison's Bogie Book*. Produced by Dennison manufacturing, they were full of recipes, game ideas and instructions on how to host the perfect Halloween party. Released almost every year from 1909, they've been described by the Boscastle Museum of Witchcraft and Magic as "an important part of promoting and standardising the festival."

As the modern festival of Halloween developed, so too did the traditions associated with it. As with the festival itself, some of these were contemporary interpretations of older customs associated with Samhain, All Souls' Day and other European celebrations. Others were unique to the 'new' Halloween and saw it transform into the commercial juggernaut of today.

SAMHAIN SPIRITS

It wasn't just the spirits of dead loved ones who were thought to roam the earth during Samhain. The Celts of Ireland also had a plethora of monsters that developed throughout the centuries. For example, harvest offerings would be made to the 'púca', meaning spirit or ghost. These were thought to be shape-shifting creatures,

"THE CELTS ALSO BELIEVED IT WAS A TIME WHEN THE BARRIER BETWEEN OUR WORLD AND THE OTHER WORLD WAS AT ITS THINNEST"


Le Petit Journal
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5 CENT. SUPPLÉMENT ILLUSTRÉ 5 CENT.
24me Année Numéro 1.195
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ABONNEMENTS
LA TOUSSAINT DANS UN CIMETIÈRE D'ESPAGNE
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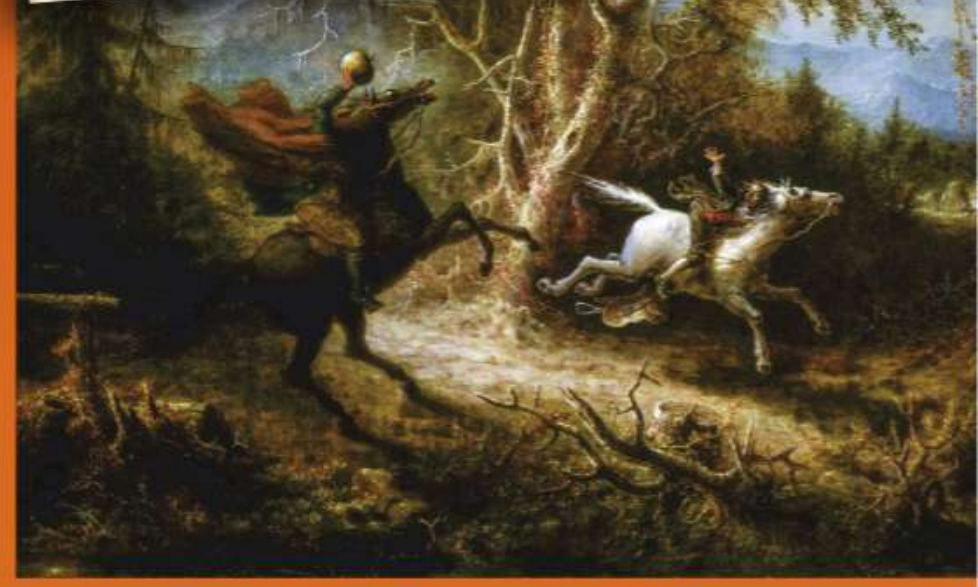

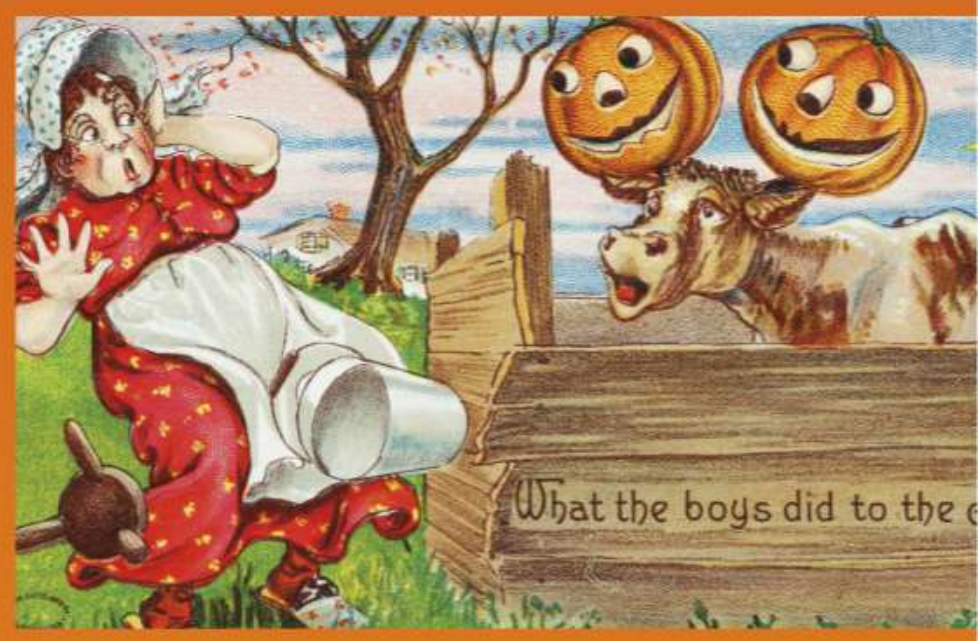

FAR-LEFT A 1913 French magazine illustrating All Saints' Day celebrations in a Spanish cemetery

LEFT Carving a face into a pumpkin and illuminating it is a tradition thought to have Celtic roots

BELOW-LEFT The Irish legend of the Dullahan appears to be an early headless horseman legend. Washington Irving's classic *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow* also features a pumpkin in a prominent role

BOTTOM-LEFT A Halloween postcard showcasing some of the pranks played on Halloween that later caused some authorities to attempt to ban the festival

sometimes appearing as humans with animal features such as tails or fur, who were fond of playing tricks. It's possible that some of these old Irish legends surrounding Samhain may have been the origin of other folk creatures, such as the 'headless horsemen'.

Although some tales describe them as small imps, the Dullahan is most often depicted as a headless black-cloaked figure on horseback. The Dullahan was actually thought to be the embodiment of the fertility god Crom Dubh seeking a blood sacrifice. Thanks to the work of Irish poet WB Yeats, among others, the Dullahan legend continued down the centuries and in later versions the horseman was depicted being followed by the cóiste bodhar (death coach) as he searched for blood through the night. Another headless apparition was Lady Gwynn, who was fond of chasing lone travellers with the assistance of a vast black pig.

JACK O'LANTERNS

Arguably the most recognisable symbol associated with the modern tradition of Halloween is the carved pumpkin, or Jack O'Lantern. The tradition of carving vegetables or fruit may have also had its origins in the Celtic festival of Samhain, with these lanterns being used to ward off the various spirits suspected to be abroad on the night when the veil between worlds was thinnest. Later, a popular legend emerged concerning the origins of these carved lanterns. "In these stories Jack is a trickster who outwits the Devil three times," Morton tells us. "When Jack finally dies, neither Heaven nor Hell wants him, but the Devil does toss him a glowing hellfire ember to light his way as his spirit eternally wanders the Earth. Jack places the ember the in carved-out gourd and he becomes Jack-o'-the-Lantern."

This story also helped explain the significance of ignis fatuus – light resulting from swamp or marsh gases from decomposing plants and animals. This mysterious phenomena is also the origin of the Will-O'-The-Wisp legend and proved dangerous to any traveller who would attempt to follow it as the mysterious light seemed to move further and further away.

"In Ireland, Halloween pranksters would carve faces into turnips and set them out on Halloween night where the unwary traveller might get a shock upon encountering it," Morton tells us. "When Irish immigrants fled famine and came to America in the 1840s,

HOW TO SOLVE A PROBLEM LIKE HALLOWEEN

For decades, American councils and governments sought to abolish All Hallows' Eve and replace it with more 'wholesome' alternatives

During the first few decades of the 20th century, Halloween became known for teenagers playing pranks. However, soon these pranks began to get out of control, leading to the phrase 'the Halloween problem' being coined. The 'problem' facing the various authorities was this: how to combat these youthful bouts of destruction? In 1942 the Chicago City Council voted to ban Halloween and instead implement 'Conservation Day', though this was never actually carried out.

Gradually, parades and celebrations helped quell the riotous prank-playing, though not totally. In the northeast of the United States during the 1930s, 30 October earned the nickname 'Mischief Night' as the various tricks associated with Halloween night merely happened 24 hours earlier. Over the decades local government bodies floated various 'alternatives' to All Hallows. In 1950, Pennsylvania Minister Clyde Allison began collecting change on Halloween night, the proceeds donated to UNICEF to help children affected by WWII – a campaign that continues to this day. However, in 1962 the mayor of New York Robert F Wagner tried to ban Halloween and replaced it with UNICEF Day.

Back in 1950, other alternative holidays were suggested. President Truman considered an idea to hand out 'pledge cards' at schools, asking youngsters to promise not to damage property in return for admittance to a local Halloween dance or event. All Hallows would then be re-christened 'Youth Honour Day' – thankfully, this plan was not implemented.

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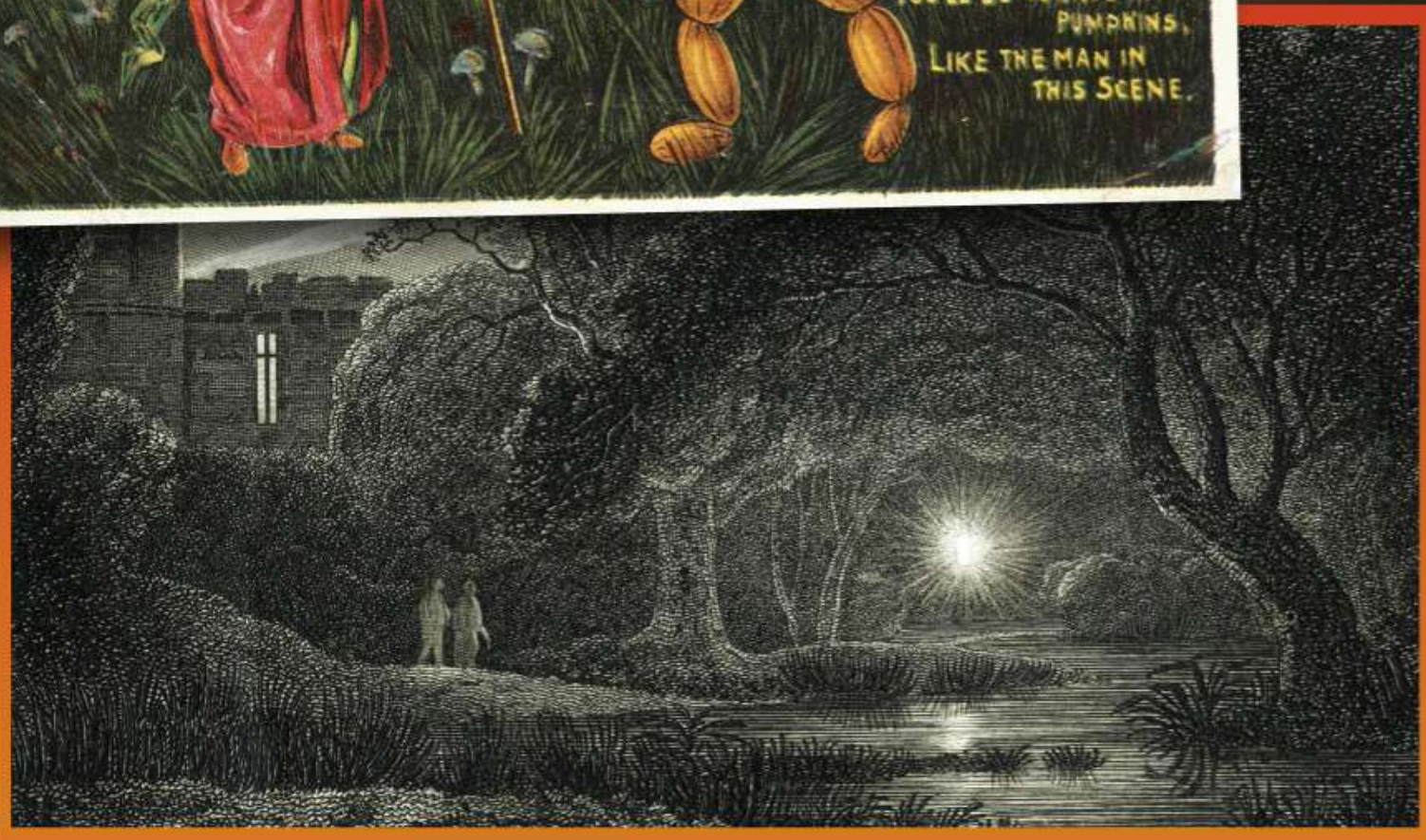
"ANOTHER HEADLESS APPARITION WAS LADY GWYNN, WHO WAS FOND OF CHASING LONE TRAVELLERS WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF A VAST BLACK PIG"

they brought that tradition with them but found the native American pumpkin worked even better." By the 19th century this tradition saw the vegetable take on a spooky significance in American popular culture. Most famously, in 1820 Washington Irving incorporated a pumpkin into his ghost story *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow,* where the headless horseman carries one and throws it at Ichabod Crane, the story's protagonist. The tale's location, the real Sleepy Hollow, now hosts an annual Great Jack O'Lantern Blaze featuring thousands of hand-carved illuminated pumpkins.

TRICK OR TREATING

One of the other major traditions associated with Halloween is that of trick or treating in which children dress up as various ghosts and ghoulies and go door-to-door proclaiming 'trick or treat' and asking for candy. "People think trick or treat is ancient but it's not – it originated in America less than a century ago," says Morton. Trick or treating shares some similarities with Belsnickeling – a Christmas game in which costumed participants would knock on doors and deliberately frighten children or perform small tricks in return for 'treats'.

In the early 20th century prank-playing became more common, and while the term 'trick or treat' may sound harmless, the levels of destruction could be riotous. "It came about as a civic response to these pranks," says Morton, "which by the 1930s had moved into the cities and become very destructive and very expensive." Nicholas Rogers, author of *Halloween: From Pagan Ritual to Party Night*, wrote: "In 1932 a pack of teenage boys swept into a confectioner's store in 'mass formation' and demanded treats to yells of 'shell out'." Rogers goes on to state that the following year a number of family homes in the Vancouver area were besieged by boys and girls demanding sugary snacks. "Some cities considered banning Halloween altogether," Morton adds. "Others created the idea of neighbourhood gatherings that would offer the juvenile mischief-makers an alternative. The plan worked and trick or treat was in common practice across America by about 1940, although it was put on hold during the war years since things like sugar were rationed."



LEFT Halloween postcards such as this would have been sent to friends or family for the Halloween season

BELOW An illustration showing ignis fatuus, the natural phenomenon that gave birth to the story of Jack-o'-the-Lantern as well as Will-o'-the-Wisp

HALLOWEEN COSTUMES

While trick or treating is a relatively recent tradition, the wearing of costumes may be far older and linked to the Celtic tradition of wearing them to frighten spirits, or from costuming traditions associated with All Souls' Day. However, once again these assumptions would be incorrect. "The fact is that around the turn of the last century costumes were worn for many occasions, including Thanksgiving and even Christmas," Morton explains. "Costuming at Halloween came out of that [as did] the idea of buying off the pranksters by encouraging them to enjoy costumes and parties instead." The first city in America believed to have 'bought off' young pranksters with celebrations is Anoka, Minnesota. In 1920, following the destruction of the previous year when farmers' cows had been let loose in the streets and outhouses tipped over, the town held a vast celebration to distract any troublesome youngsters. The centrepiece of this was a costumed parade that led to a bonfire, and this event was so successful that by the 1930s it had about 2,000 participants.

During the interwar years costumes were usually constructed out of old clothes and, according to Rogers, children blackened their faces using soot or burnt cork. Also during this period Universal Studios released monster movies such as *Dracula* (1931) and *The Bride of Frankenstein* (1935), which popularised the gothic literary figures. Not only were these films highly successful, they were also

FRIGHTENING FORTUNE-TELLING GAMES

One forgotten Halloween pastime featured games through which players thought they could reveal the future

A now-forgotten Halloween tradition is 'fortune telling games', a series of parlour games traditionally played on Halloween night and meant to reveal the future. "If you look at Robert Burns' classic 1785 poem *Hallowe'en* you'll get a glimpse at some of these games, most of which were intended to reveal who one's future spouse would be," Morton explains. "Some of these games were quite frightening, involving invoking the name of the Devil; most were done at night alone and some were downright dangerous, like going backwards down stairs while looking into a mirror!" Another of these games – Nut Crack Night – involved an unmarried woman throwing hazelnuts onto the fire at Halloween. Each of the nuts thrown was meant to represent a possible suitor and usually they would pop in the heat of the flames. However, if one did not pop and simply burnt away into ashes then this would be her future husband.

immediately iconic and embedded in the popular consciousness the idea of the flat-headed, bolt-necked Frankenstein creature and the dinner-suited Dracula with a widow's peak. Almost immediately this imagery was adopted for Halloween costumes, both homemade and commercial.

From the 1950s to the 1970s companies such as Ben Cooper Incorporated and mask-maker extraordinaire Don Post were integral in the growing popularity of commercially available costumes. Beginning as vaudeville costume-makers from the New York stage, Ben Cooper branched out into making early examples of Halloween costumes in 1937. By the 1960s the company had acquired the licences to make costumes of a number of popular cultural figures such as Batman and The Munsters. In 1979 they even turned the title creature from Ridley Scott's sci-fi horror masterpiece *Alien* into a cute little number for the kiddies, despite the fact that the film was R-rated, meaning no one under the age of 17 was legally permitted to view the stomach-bursting classic. Don Post, nicknamed 'the Godfather of Halloween', became famous for making the world's first latex overhead mask in 1938 and his creations became similarly iconic. Post himself was also able to obtain the licence for a number of classic film properties, resulting in best-selling masks based on popular films such as *Planet of the Apes* (1968) and *Star Wars* (1977).

HALLOWEEN TODAY

Now, Halloween is arguably bigger than ever and is considered the second-largest commercial holiday in the United States. Every October thousands of 'Haunted Houses' spring up across America, where guests can be terrorised by actors as they wander through gory sets – for a fee, of course. This industry on average generates $300-500 million in ticket sales each year and over 1,200 professional 'houses' are in operation across the country.

In 1978, noted horror film director John Carpenter directed the first in a popular series of slasher films named after the Halloween holiday. This year the film's tenth sequel (and 13th movie overall if you count two remakes and the original) is set to be released, once again drawing on the holiday's spooky atmosphere for maximum shock value. In 2019, some 40 million children were expected to go trick or treating in the United States.

After centuries of evolution, Halloween remains the scariest night of the year. This year, as you give handfuls of candy to costumed children or settle down to watch *Halloween*'s Michael Myers butcher his latest victim, remember the old traditions. Remember Jack-O'-The-Lanterns or the Celtic festival of Samhain and the spirits who were said to wander abroad on that cold October night long ago.

TOP An example of turn-of-the-century Halloween costumes in America

ABOVE By the 1960s Halloween costumes had become more sophisticated and commercialised

TRICK OR TREAT: A HISTORY OF HALLOWEEN
BY LISA MORTON IS OUT NOW FROM REAKTION BOOKS PRICED £9.99

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THE DIAMOND NECKLACE AFFAIR

How did a minor French courtier ensare Marie Antoinette in an elaborate – and deadly – scam?

Written by Scott Reeves

The crowd outside the Palace of Versailles council chamber rippled with excitement. They knew something extraordinary was going on inside. Cardinal de Rohan, who was about to celebrate Mass for the royal family to mark the Assumption of the Virgin, had been unexpectedly escorted to the king's apartment by a couple of soldiers. Who else was inside and what were they saying?

Suddenly the door opened and the pale cardinal walked out. With him was the king's chief minister, who turned to the nearest guard and said loudly, for all to hear: "The king orders you, monsieur, to arrest the cardinal."

The stunning detention of Rohan in August 1785 was the moment when what's become known as the Affair of the Diamond Necklace burst into the public domain. The scandal ruined the reputation of Rohan and discredited Marie Antoinette, but both were largely innocent victims of a scammer who burrowed her way into the court.

The charlatan at the centre of the affair was Jeanne de La Motte. Despite descending from an illegitimate son of King Henry II, Jeanne was born into an impoverished family and was forced to beg on the streets. Her family successfully petitioned the royal family for a small pension before Jeanne married Nicolas de La Motte, whose claim to nobility was even more doubtful than her own, but that didn't stop the two newlyweds assuming the titles of Comte and Comtesse de La Motte Valois.

Yet Jeanne aspired to greater things. Her ambition was to befriend Marie Antoinette in the hope that her pension would be increased, even staging a dramatic faux faint as the queen walked past her at Versailles. But the queen had been warned to keep Jeanne at a distance; something just didn't seem right about her.

Jeanne already had another trick up her sleeve. For the past couple of years she had been sharing a bed with Cardinal de Rohan, the Grand Almoner of France – effectively the most important member of the Church at court. Yet Rohan was similarly disillusioned with his lot in life. He had served as an ambassador in Vienna from 1772, but Empress Maria Theresa was turned off by the lavish and venal lifestyle enjoyed by a man of the Church. Rohan unwisely spread rumours that Maria Theresa's daughter Marie Antoinette, then married to the dauphin, was having an affair in the French court and wrote a letter criticising the empress that reached the eyes of Marie Antoinette. When Louis XV died in 1774, Rohan was recalled and received a frosty reception from the new King Louis XVI and Queen Marie Antoinette.

Rohan wanted to win back royal approval and Jeanne knew it. She told Rohan an elaborate tale of the friendship she had with the queen. That time when Jeanne fainted in front of

ABOVE-INSET A portrait of Louis René Édouard, better known as Cardinal de Rohan

BELOW Jeanne de La Motte hoodwinked Rohan in a two-year scam that saw him supposedly exchange letters with the queen

Marie Antoinette, who swished past with barely a second look? Jeanne confided that the queen had later invited Jeanne to her apartments and plied her with money. She convinced Rohan that she had discussed him with the queen and offered to carry his letters to her. Marie Antoinette's replies – faked by another of Jeanne's lovers, Rétaux de Villette – even hinted that the queen had romantic feelings for Rohan.

During an August night in 1784, Jeanne arranged for Rohan to meet secretly with the queen in the gardens of the Palace of Versailles. He knelt at her feet, she gave him a rose and coyly hid her face behind a fan while saying: "You may believe that the past will be forgotten." Jeanne soon pulled Marie Antoinette away, claiming there were too many people around. Only it wasn't actually Marie Antoinette. It was a prostitute, Nicole Le Guay, who Jeanne had hired for the evening and who was completely baffled.

Rohan had been completely deceived by a supreme confidence trickster. He either didn't notice or chose to ignore the fact that the queen signed her letters 'Marie Antoinette de France' rather than the usual 'Marie Antoinette'. He happily gave money to Jeanne, having been convinced by the correspondence that it was going to the queen's charitable endeavours.

The ploy reached new heights when Jeanne discovered that Charles Auguste Boehmer and Paul Bassange were trying to sell an exceptional piece of jewellery. They had designed a huge, diamond-encrusted necklace for Louis XV's favoured mistress, Madame du Barry, on the orders of the king. However, when Louis died suddenly from smallpox, they were left holding an expensive and as-yet unpaid-for necklace.

> "THE SUSPECTS WERE HELD IN THE NOTORIOUS BASTILLE PRIOR TO THEIR TRIALS"

They tried to sell it to Marie Antoinette, but she declined on more than one occasion. She didn't want a piece of jewellery made for a mistress and declared: "We have more need of seventy-fours [warships] than of necklaces." Boehmer and Bassange proffered it around Europe, but the asking price of two million livres (the equivalent of over £10 million in 2022) was simply too high.

Jeanne delivered one of her fake letters to Rohan indicating that Marie Antoinette did want the necklace but felt unable to buy it given her husband's reluctance and France's dwindling economy. Would Rohan be able to lend her the money and act as a secret intermediary?

Of course he would. Rohan met with the jewellers and negotiated to pay 1.6 million livres in four instalments. Boehmer and Bassange were told the necklace was being purchased by Marie Antoinette but that they must keep it a secret. Rohan carried the jewellery to Versailles and handed it over to a supposed member of the queen's household in the company of Jeanne. However, it didn't reach Marie Antoinette; it was broken up and its 17 individual diamonds were hawked across Europe by Jeanne's husband, La Motte, and her lover, Villette.

Rohan, Boehmer and Bassange waited with bated breath for the queen to wear the stunning jewels at court. As each day passed with no sign of the diamond necklace, they began to worry. Jeanne reassured them that Marie Antoinette simply hadn't found the right time to tell her husband about the extravagant purchase.

Boehmer and Bassange reluctantly agreed to drop the price a further 200,000 livres and wrote a fawning letter to the queen thanking her for her purchase. A puzzled Marie Antoinette burned the letter and Boehmer was told to stay away

LEFT Jeanne de La Motte was branded for her crimes but broke out of jail within a year of her life sentence beginning

BELOW-RIGHT Louis XVI rides on the back of Marie Antoinette as they attempt to flee Paris in this contemporary caricature; the Diamond Necklace Affair led to more distrust in the royal family

from court – had the queen not made clear she did not want any jewellery from him?

The date of the first instalment came and went. Boehmer tried again to speak to the queen but was turned away. The penny started to drop. Marie Antoinette received Boehmer, who pleaded that she pay for the necklace she had bought via Rohan else he faced bankruptcy. The queen realised something fishy was afoot. It was time to inform the king.

Rohan's sudden arrest was followed by the detention of Jeanne, forger Villette, prostitute Le Guay and Count Cagliostro, an acquaintance of Rohan who Jeanne accused of orchestrating the entire scam. Nicolas de La Motte was safely overseas and avoided arrest. He apparently avoided an assassination attempt in London – although considering the source that tells us about the attack came from Jeanne's pen, only a fool would take what she wrote without a large pinch of salt.

The suspects were held in the notorious Bastille prior to their trials. Rohan was advised to appeal to the king's clemency but considered that to be a tacit admission of guilt. He was determined to have his say in court, where his case would be judged by parlement. Nonetheless, he had to answer carefully to avoid incriminating himself since the king and queen had made clear their wish to see him punished for his part in the embarrassing escapade. Jeanne, meanwhile, continued to weave a web of lies, but it finally started to unravel under persistent questioning.

Cagliostro and Le Guay were acquitted by the court. So too was Rohan – parlement decided he was a fool but not a fraudster. However, the still-angry Louis XVI had the final word by issuing lettres de cachet ordering Cagliostro to be exiled from France and Rohan to be banished to one of his properties in the south of the country. Villette was found guilty of forgery and sent into exile. Nicolas de La Motte was found guilty in absentia – his punishment, if he were ever caught, was life as a galley slave.

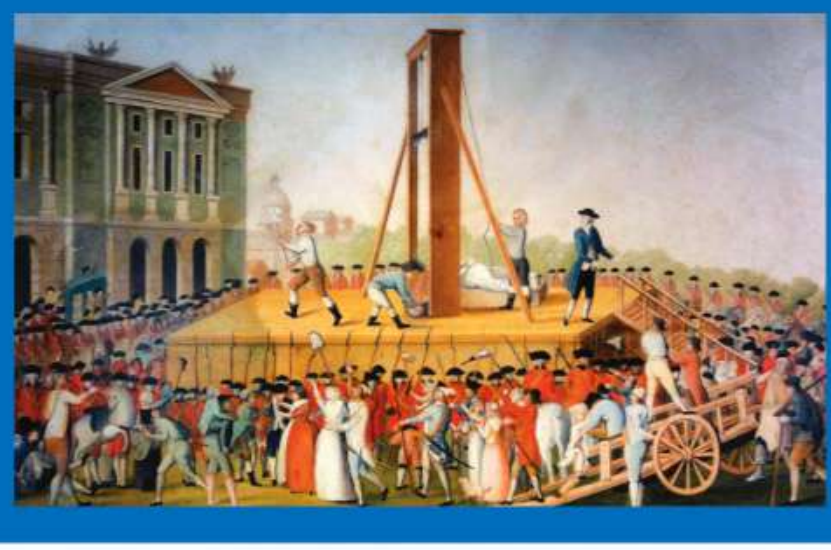
And what of the mastermind of the whole operation? Jeanne de La Motte was found guilty and whipped, branded with a V (for voleuse meaning 'thief') on each shoulder and imprisoned in the Salpêtrière, a notorious prison for prostitutes. It did not hold her long. A year after her life sentence began, Jeanne was plucked from jail with the help of anonymous collaborators on the outside and whisked away to London. There, as the French Revolution ignited across the Channel, Jeanne composed her memoirs.

In her scurrilous and fantastical account of her life, Jeanne decries her innocence. She says that Rohan and Marie Antoinette were lovers and that the queen was well aware of the purchase of the diamond necklace. And if you believe that, you'll believe anything.

Madame Déficit

Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, although not part of the scam to steal valuable jewels, decided to prosecute the suspects in the Diamond Necklace Affair to defend their honour. It had the opposite effect. Many people followed the trial and made up their own minds, and the sordid affair added to the queen's burgeoning reputation as a spendthrift. After all, was this not the woman who had been nicknamed Madame Déficit for her profligate purchasing?

After the Diamond Necklace Affair, the French public viewed Marie Antoinette with increasing disdain. Leaflets and pamphlets attacking her circulated in the capital. Almost three years after Rohan was freed, the French Revolution broke out. Marie Antoinette was insulted as never before when she was returned to Paris after an ignominious attempt to flee and her hair reportedly turned white overnight. There was no way to rehabilitate her reputation. On 16 October 1793, the former queen – now referred to only as the Widow Capet – lost her head to the guillotine.



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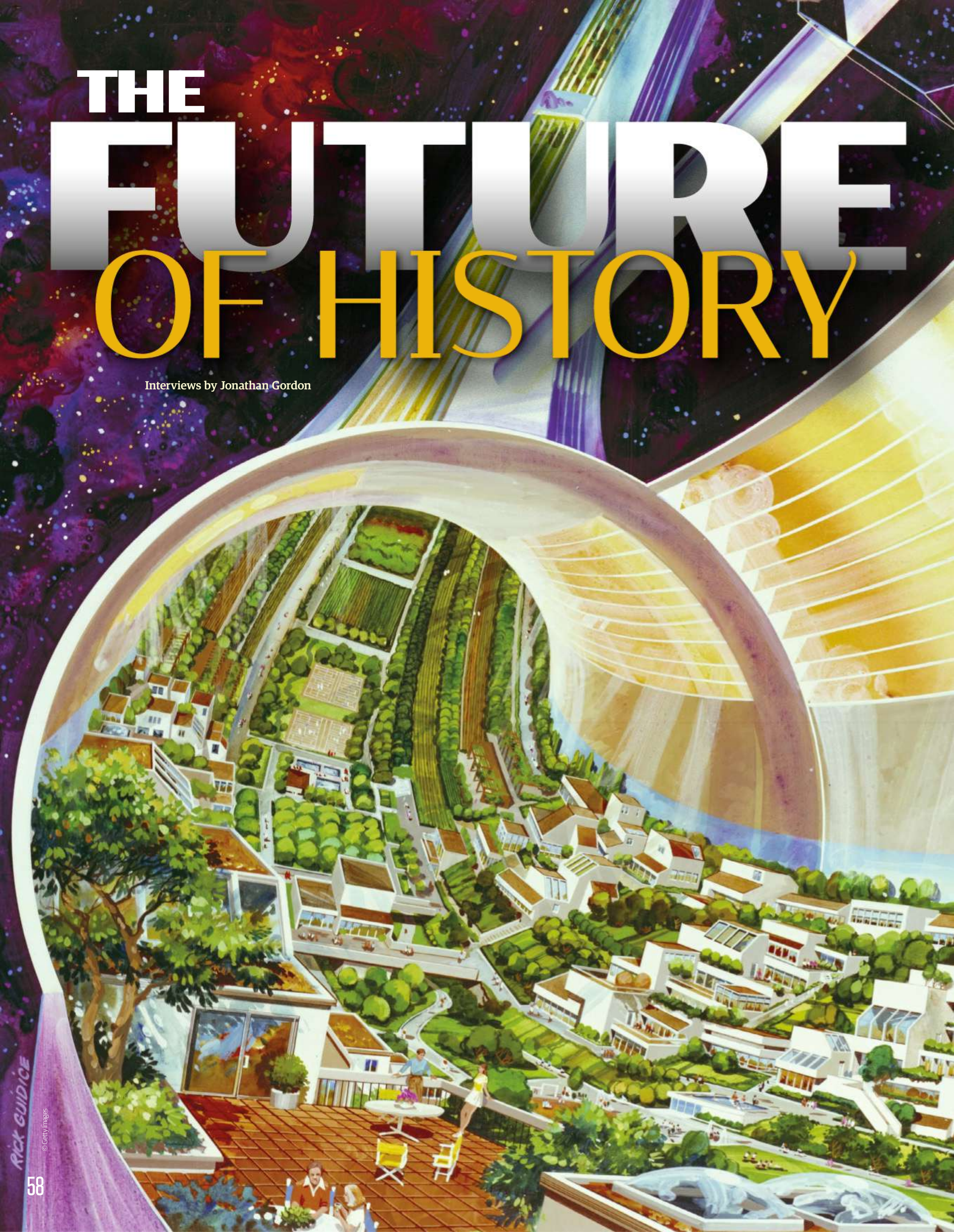
THE FUTURE OF HISTORY

Interviews by Jonathan Gordon



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Leading historians give their verdict on how the next generations will remember us and the challenges they will face

EXPERT BIOS

© Alamy

James Holland

A World War II history expert, Holland is a historian, novelist and broadcaster, as well as the co-host of the *We Have Ways Of Making You Talk* podcast with comedian Al Murray.

Photo by Alastair McCormick

Clare Jackson

Dr Jackson is a senior tutor at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and the author of *Devil-Land: England Under Siege, 1588-1688* – winner of the 2022 Wolfson History Prize.

Courtesy of Wolfson Foundation

Prashant Kidambi

Dr Kidambi is the author of the 2020 Wolfson Prize-nominated *Cricket Country: An Indian Odyssey in the Age of Empire* and Associate Professor in Colonial Urban History at the University of Leicester.

Courtesy of Wolfson Foundation

Nicola Tallis

A royal history expert, Dr Tallis is the author of several books on the subject, including *Crown Of Blood*, *Uncrowned Queen* and *Elizabeth's Rival*.

What will future generations remember about the times we live in today? Will the big topic be the Covid-19 pandemic? Will it be the Russian invasion of Ukraine? Will the political turmoil in Britain, America and elsewhere dominate the pages of history books in the years to come? These are the questions we wanted to ponder as we teamed up with the Wolfson Foundation, marking the 50th anniversary of its famous History Prize. We gathered a panel of historians, including this year's Wolfson History Prize winner, Clare Jackson, to think about the challenges and possibilities of studying history in the future.

Which recent event do you think will dominate history writing in the future?

James Holland: The Russian invasion of Ukraine in February this year because it's brought war back into Europe, it's got no happy ending and will rumble on for years, if not decades, whatever the outcome, and the knock-on effect on the global food crisis could well be catastrophic. These are dark times, and let's face it, escalation to a nuclear and wider war is horrendously close. It doesn't mean it will happen, but it very easily could. I think this will dominate western histories, although I reckon this might be superseded by the Chinese invasion of Taiwan – odds on that happens within the next five years.

Clare Jackson: The lived experiences of the coronavirus pandemic seem likely to offer historians of the future enormous scope to reappraise attitudes to globalisation, relations between scientists and policy makers, the presentation of statistical data and rise of conspiracy theories, divergent approaches to pandemic and risk management in different countries, how notions of communities were reconceptualised and rehabilitated, and the vibrancy of individual artistic and cultural responses.

Prashant Kidambi: We are entering a period dominated by fundamental existential threats: catastrophic climate change, nuclear war, political authoritarianism, genocidal violence and rising levels of social inequality. At the same time, the situation is not unremittingly dire. In different parts of the world, we see ordinary people acting collectively to confront these challenges. I think when historians of the future look back at this period, they will come to regard it as a watershed moment – a 'new age of crisis' – and they will seek to understand how human societies across the world responded to it.

ABOVE The Russian invasion of Ukraine will likely be one of the most important events of the last decade

A COVER-UP
LOCKDOWN IS A DEADLY SCYTHE
... because the cruel irony is it costs more lives than it saves
cuit-breaker idea is crude, lazy and defies common sense
THE SHOCKING REALITY
MENTAL HEALTH 'CATASTROPHE'
KILLING GAME
Hey! Tester! Leave those kids alone
Sentenced to a slow, agonising death... by No 10's panic squad
TIME IS RUNNING OUT
AN EPIDEMIC OF MADNESS
never forget. You shouldn't either
How can we follow the science when scientists haven't the foggiest?
More than 1m hospitality and retail jobs may vanish by end of 2020
VACCINE
GHOST TOWNS
Hitting the panic button will cripple Britain... How DID they turn a crisis into an epidemic of madness?
science... and ditch catastrophic curfew
DAMNING EXPERTS' REPORTS OF COVID RULES
THE LOCKDOWN
Covid will never go away, says Vallance

BELOW Print media will continue to offer some insight for future historians, but it's not the only source of information or necessarily always helpful

Nicola Tallis: The obvious answer is the Covid-19 pandemic, for many reasons. The global impact inflicted by the virus has been devastating, and in many ways we are still recovering from that and will be for some time. In the UK I think it's unfortunate that the government's mishandling of the pandemic will probably continue to affect lives for some time, and this will undoubtedly be reflected when historians consider this period. The commendable efforts of the NHS, among many others, ought to be the remembrance and I would hope that the sense of camaraderie and community spirit will also be recognised and celebrated.

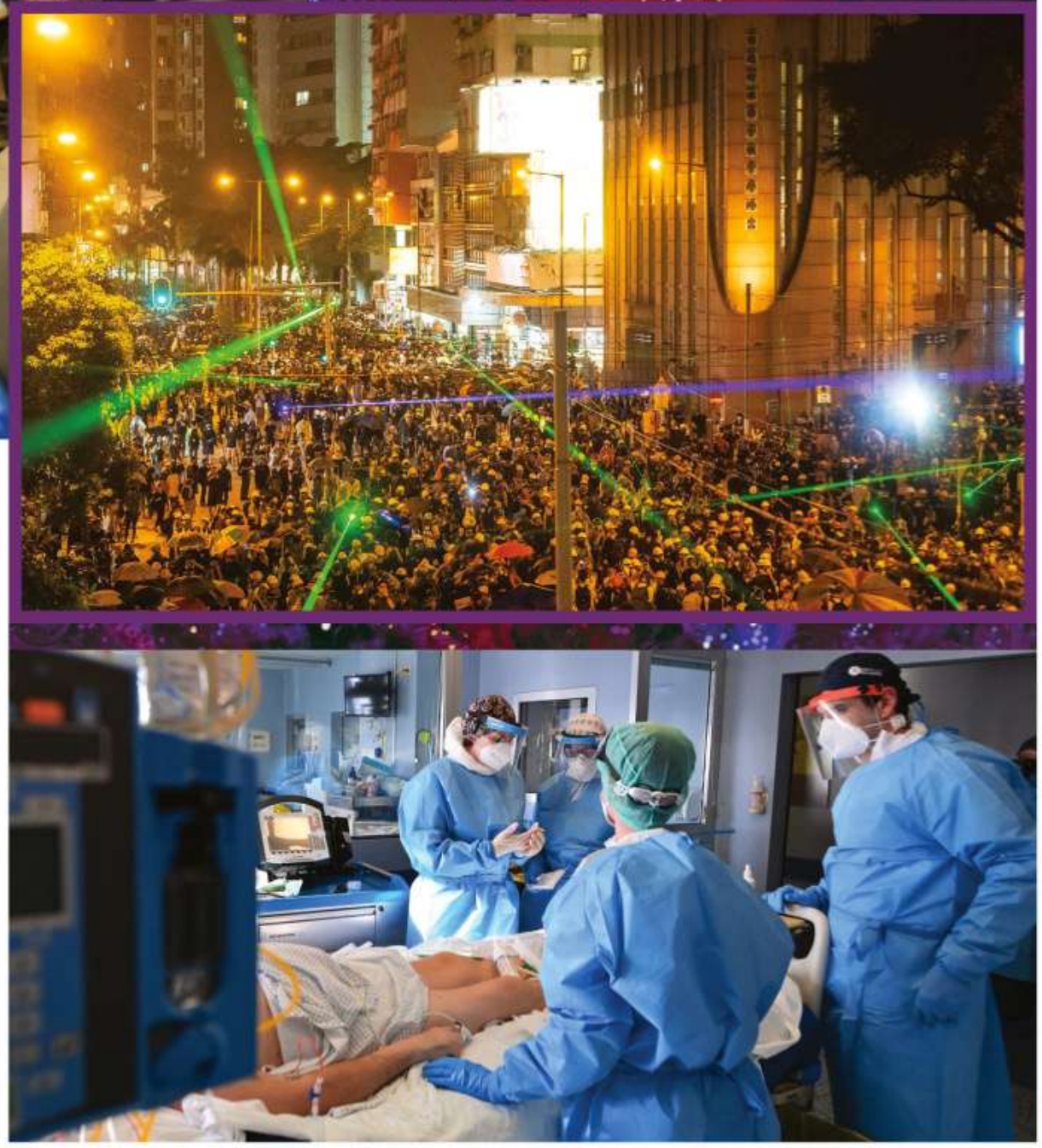
How challenging do you think the historians of tomorrow will find researching this era with so much misinformation as well as digital communication?

JH: Pretty difficult, actually, because there's less of a paper trail than in the past. Who keeps emails? And, frankly, who keeps diaries these days? It may well be that in 10 to 20 years' time all the photos and videos we take today seem prehistoric and are hard to access.

PK: I think future historians will find this era a challenging one to research simply because they will need to work very hard to sift the truth from 'fake news'. Equally, unlike in previous times, some kinds of sources may become harder to come by. Governments today collect information through forms of surveillance that they keep 'off the record'. Future historians will find it hard to access such information. The old traditions of copious letter-writing have given way to more abbreviated forms of electronic communication (via WhatsApp or email, for instance). Much of this may be deleted or remain inaccessible to historians. On the other hand, the sheer proliferation of different kinds of communication formats may open up other possibilities for the historical reconstruction of our contemporary culture. The rapid digitisation of vast amounts of historical sources will also make it possible for scholars to access information far more rapidly than in the past. Finally, some aspects of the historian's

BELOW The last few years have seen a number of mass movements standing up against authoritarianism, such as the protests in Hong Kong in 2019 and 2020

BOTTOM What will future generations learn from the Covid-19 pandemic and the global response to it?



"THESE ARE DARK TIMES AND, LET'S FACE IT, ESCALATION TO A NUCLEAR AND WIDER WAR IS HORRENDOUSLY CLOSE"

craft will remain the same. Historians of tomorrow will have to do what their predecessors have always done: pay close attention to context, critically assess primary sources, interrogate power and draw out multiple points of view.

CJ: Aside from distinctions between information and disinformation, a real risk of universal digitisation of records is IT obsolescence. Digital media intended to be preserved for future generations requires regular migration schedules to ensure that it doesn't become inaccessible if stored on outdated technologies (eg floppy disks, CD-ROMs etc). There are also significant challenges in recognising the huge amounts of digital data currently generated which requires skilled archivists to construct metadata frameworks and data management records to ensure efficient cataloguing and retrieval of this material.

Regarding potential differences between 'information' and 'misinformation', the boundaries can shift. I'm keenly aware, for example, that much of [my book] *Devil-Land*'s arguments were informed by reports compiled by 17th-century foreign diplomats posted to London. Their assessments were often highly inaccurate and distorted, but as a historian I was keen to study the nature of those distortions, inaccuracies and exaggerations as a means of showing how foreign representatives continually calibrated the standing of their own country vis-à-vis that of England.

NT: With a change of time comes a change of method, and this will require an adaptation which will doubtless present many challenges. So much of modern-day life is now conducted via social media that in addition to trawling through the books that are often an historian's traditional source, they will also have

COVID OR BREXIT?

Wolfson poll reveals what the public think will be the big historical topic

As part of its 50th anniversary celebrations, the Wolfson Foundation ran a poll of the British public to see what events of recent years will dominate history books in the future. The overwhelming majority believed that the Covid-19 pandemic will be the topic of most interest to future historians.

The survey, conducted by Yonder Consulting in January 2022, found that 41 percent picked the pandemic as the defining issue of our times, while 22 percent believed that global warming would be the top topic and 11 percent picked Brexit. It's worth noting, however, that the survey was done about a month before the Russian invasion of Ukraine, which may well have had an impact on people's votes.

Reassuringly, 81 percent of respondents told Wolfson that they thought the study of history was vital to progress in the future, to learn from past events.

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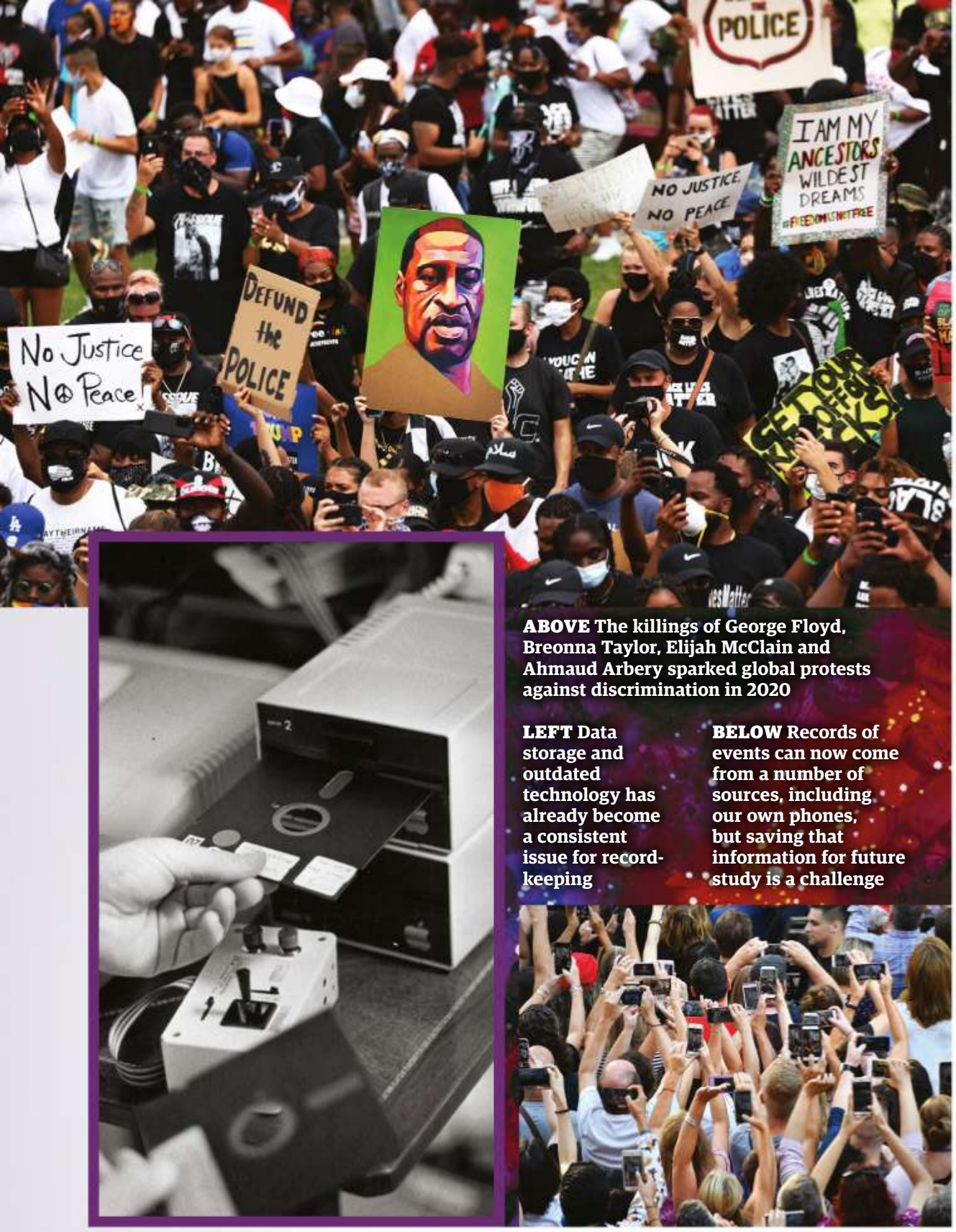

ABOVE The killings of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, Elijah McClain and Ahmaud Arbery sparked global protests against discrimination in 2020

LEFT Data storage and outdated technology has already become a consistent issue for record-keeping

BELOW Records of events can now come from a number of sources, including our own phones, but saving that information for future study is a challenge

to gather information from the likes of Twitter, Instagram and TikTok – it's a completely new phenomenon that also poses challenges in terms of misinformation. Ultimately, however, it is the role of the historian to sift through material in order to ascertain its reliability, so in this sense it poses no further challenges than any other source.

How might emerging technologies impact historians in the coming years?

CJ: Depending on their fields of expertise, there are terrific opportunities for historians in terms of new tools to facilitate, for example large data analysis and mining, data visualisation, Global Positioning Systems and immersive technologies. As someone who works extensively with early modern printed books, there are exciting ways to identify n-grams: ie counting the number of times a particular word or phrase is used, with 'n' being the variable representing the number of words. Running searches for particular words and phrases from a vast number of early modern texts generates hugely revealing insights into the lexical content of contemporary discourse.

Looking ahead, although text and WhatsApp messages, as well as social media posts and YouTube videos, differ in content and format from 'traditional' archival sources such as letters and memoirs, if preserved securely future historians of the 21st century will have a richly informed understanding that will include enhanced understanding of features such as everyday body language, which is clearly much harder to reconstruct from stylised portraits in the early modern period.

PK: Historians of the future will find that they need to master audio-visual and sonic sources alongside print culture. There is a close interpenetration of different kinds of communication formats. Alongside the traditional archival repositories historians of the future will need to work with a diverse array of online materials as well as material artefacts.

WHAT TO STUDY NEXT?

Our panel on where they hope future historians focus their research

The study of history is always evolving and always revealing new information that can open up topics to reexamination and reevaluation. The future of history could go in many directions. "One of the most important rules for the historian is to question everything, and so I would hope that this would be a continuous cycle for all areas of history," says Nicola Tallis. "Fresh theories and new research are never wasted."

The work of Clare Jackson in *Devil-Land* is a good example, as it investigates diplomatic history through the accounts of the diplomats themselves as they experienced events in their own time. "Looking to the future, I'd like to see similar exciting ways of reconnecting and re-situating the frequently fascinating research of local historians to understand how local experiences of historical phenomena variously reflect, diverge from and affect those national experiences," Jackson tells us. "We tend to ascribe a subjectively narrowly connotation to the term 'parochial' but, for early modern contemporaries, the global and national scope of political information disseminated within parishes, from pulpits, local assize sermons and market crosses, was anything but parochial."

James Holland adds: "There's still so much to learn. Our understanding of the Early Medieval period, for example, what was once called the Dark Ages, has become far less dark in the past decade or so. Long may this progress continue."

Prashant Kidambi, meanwhile, is looking forward to seeing historians connect the past to some of the big issues of our time: "Environmental histories that trace the origins of the current crisis of climate change; histories of the dialectical relationship between globalisation and nationalism; histories of neo-liberalism from a global perspective; histories of populist authoritarianism; histories of the contemporary 'culture wars'."

Clearly, there is still so much more to learn from the past that could help us better understand our future.

Examining the past helps us understand the present and shape the future

"THERE'S NEVER BEEN A MORE IMPORTANT TIME TO STUDY HISTORY"

JH: Technology is moving so fast it's impossible to say. And yet, as we've seen in Ukraine, once the smart weapons run out warfare looks very much like it did 80 years ago in WWII. New technology is generally incredibly expensive. On the other hand, as things stand at the moment it's a lot easier to research than it used to be. Twenty years ago I was laboriously making notes with a pencil, now I can photograph in half an hour what used to take me a week. Travel is also much cheaper. If that continues then perhaps even greater secrets from the past will be revealed. I certainly hope so.

What are your hopes for the future of history study?

JH: That it continues to fascinate and absorb as many people as possible. It's impossible to make sense of the present or prepare for the future without an understanding of the past. History doesn't repeat itself, but patterns of human behaviour do and we need to make sure we stop those very few evil people who seem hell bent on destroying the lives of the many.

PK: I believe that history will continue to remain a valuable craft in understanding the human condition. By showing how the past fundamentally shapes the present, history allows us to place our own contemporary predicaments in perspective. Moreover, history can serve as a catalyst for change: if humans in the past worked ceaselessly to create and transform the structures that defined their lives, we too can look to reshape our present and future.

CJ: It's a cliché, but like historians in every era I believe there's never been a more important time to study history. Each day we're confronted by a tsunami of misinformation and conspiracy theories, rendering training in evaluating evidence and distinguishing fact from fiction ever more important. Hence although British universities are currently facing pressure to recruit students to perceived 'high value' STEM and vocational courses, studying history brings essential perspective. In the case of *Devil-Land*, I wanted to show how, four centuries before Brexit, the contingent mutability of England's relations with its Continental neighbours remains resonant. Only months after its publication, however, its emphasis on 17th-century England's radical turbulence and volatility was underscored anew as Europe's citizens, once again, confronted the tragic realities of warfare, ethnic cleansing, foreign intervention and displaced populations.

NT: I'm extremely passionate about enthusing youngsters to study the past and showing them why history matters so much – it's diverse, it's rich, it's powerful, it's colourful and it's about people. People who lived, people who have stories to tell and people who helped to shape modern-day society – all of these lives and stories deserve to be brought to the fore. I would love to see that same passion shared by myself and hundreds of thousands of other historians and history lovers carried forward into the future for many years to come – it's what keeps history alive.

BELOW New technology such as drones helps us to uncover more of the past or give us new perspectives on sites we've already uncovered

INSET Augmented and virtual reality could well play an increased role in historical study, helping us to visualise the past in new ways

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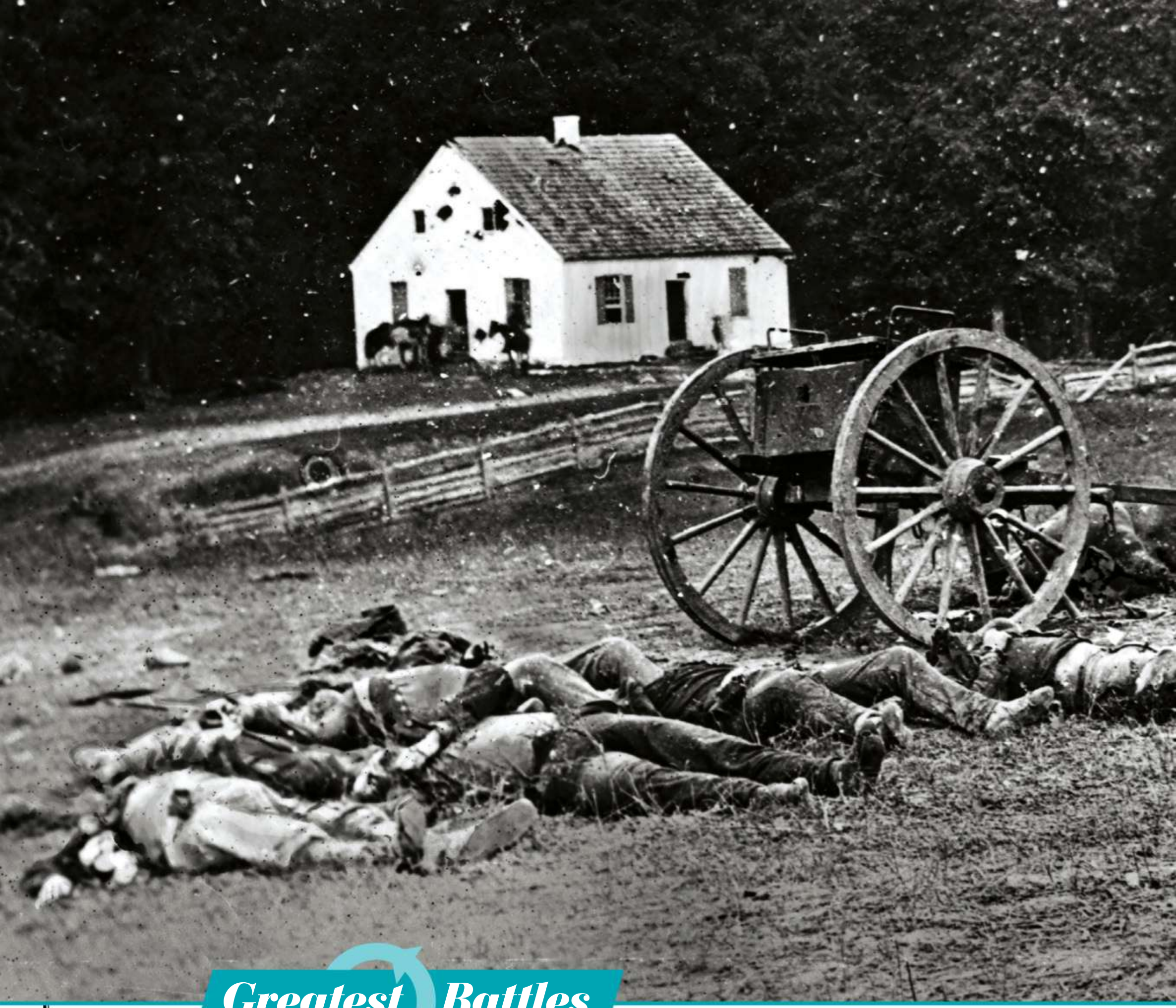


Greatest Battles

BATTLE OF ANTIETAM

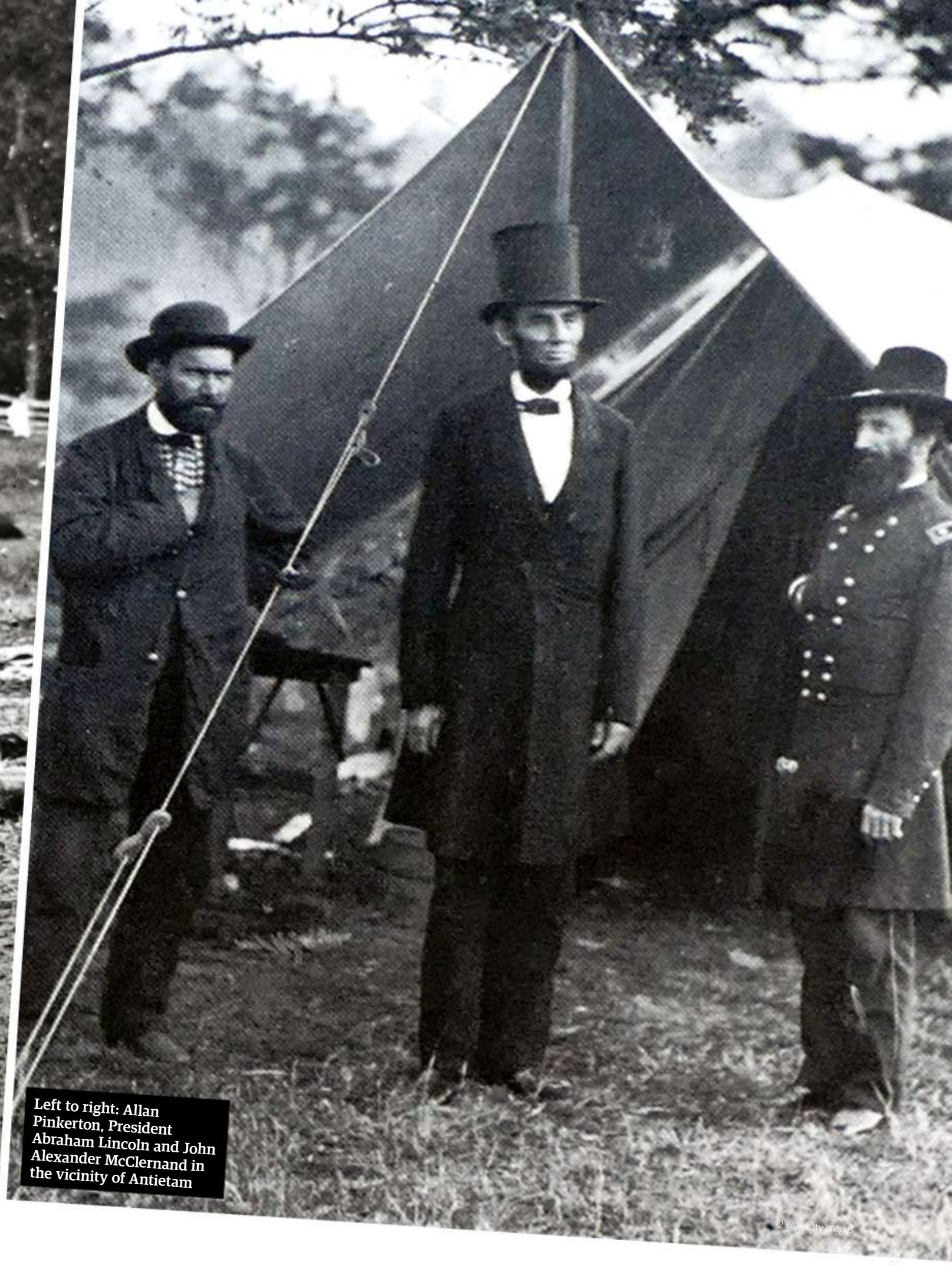
MARYLAND, USA, 17 SEPTEMBER 1862

Written by Iain MacGregor

The first year of the American Civil War (1861-65) had shown the people of both north and south that it would be a long, bloody conflict. A decades-long feud over states' rights to own slaves in the south, versus the determination in the north to abolish the evil trade, had culminated in the election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency in November 1860. Lincoln had won on a platform not to abolish slavery, but to reform it and prevent its spread into the new states being formed in the west of the continent.

To southerners, who had not voted for him, this was a step too far and they openly argued for secession – that is, to leave the Union and set up their own government. Eleven states would form what would become known as the Confederacy. By April 1861, with Lincoln now in office, both sides

Renowned photographer Alexander Gardner took this iconic picture of dead troops after the Battle of Antietam



Left to right: Allan Pinkerton, President Abraham Lincoln and John Alexander McClernand in the vicinity of Antietam

2 x © Getty Images

became belligerent and armed conflict became a distinct possibility, with Americans on both sides of the political divide rushing to join local militias, state units and armies.

On 12-13 April, Confederate militia artillery surrounded the federal arsenal based in Fort Sumter in the centre of Charleston Harbor, North Carolina – the first state that seceded from the Union. Rebel artillery reduced the federal fortification to rubble and the unharmed garrison was captured. After this, both sides rapidly expanded their armed forces from local militias into well-trained armies – the blue of the Union versus the grey of the new Confederate States of America (CAS). By now there had been several major battles across 1,600km of the continent's frontier, but by the autumn of 1862 all eyes looked towards the eastern theatre for a decisive encounter.

The Battle of Antietam would prove to be the bloodiest day, in terms of killed, wounded and missing, in American military history. To put this into perspective, more Americans died on 17 September 1862 than on D-Day, 6 June 1944.

Fought in the rolling farm hills of Maryland, the Union's Army of the Potomac claimed a bloody victory over what had been for the previous year an unbeatable Confederate army led by the genius that was Robert E Lee, commander of the Army of Northern Virginia.

However, though Lee's army was beaten, the Union commander George B McClellan failed to destroy it as he spurned countless opportunities in the day-long battle and then sat idly by while the Confederates made their way back south to their bases in Virginia.

The single positive many in the north took was that finally they had shown Lee could be beaten. President Lincoln certainly used the aftermath to push his own agenda and on 1 January 1863 issued his Emancipation Proclamation: the eventual freeing of the enslaved people of the south. The northern states now had a rallying point to fight the next two years to eventual victory.

MARCH TO ANTIETAM

The Confederacy's first invasion of the north would begin with Lee's Army of Northern Virginia (approximately 55,000 men) moving north into Maryland, which at the time was a neutral state with no clear mandate to support either side. The

Confederate leadership of Jefferson Davies was aware that a further southern victory over the Army of the Potomac might precipitate foreign intervention from Britain and France to force a negotiated peace or at the very least have European powers recognise the Confederacy's right to exist.

After the Army of the Potomac was driven back from the Confederate capital Richmond in Virginia that May, Major General George B McClellan was replaced. His former army was subsequently heavily defeated at the Second Battle of Bull Run that August.

An exasperated Lincoln now recalled their previous commander in the hope he could find a victory. McClellan was a superb administrator and loved his men – who returned the affection – but he crucially lacked the killer instinct as had been seen with his defeat at the hands of Lee that spring. He now commanded an army well over 85,000 strong, heavily armed and well supplied. His orders were to protect the capital Washington DC, and to find Lee's army and destroy it.

But as both sides tracked one another through the state of Maryland, McClellan was provided with the discovery by Union cavalry scouts of the Confederate's battle plan – called Special Order 191 – detailing their movements in the surrounding countryside. McClellan now knew Lee's army was split into three columns and could be picked off and destroyed piecemeal. Instead of acting on this news immediately, McClellan sat on the information for a crucial 18 hours. This grace period allowed Lee enough time to coalesce the greater portion of his forces and set about building defensive works along Antietam Creek in preparation for the Union attack.

Among the green rolling hills, his men were protected by woods to their left, sunken roads in the middle of their lines and the Antietam Creek along their right flank, which could only be crossed by a bridge. But the weakened Army of Northern Virginia was precarious if attacked along a broad front simultaneously and, as we shall see, clever tactics and decisive leadership on one side saved the day.

Secret Service Department headquarters, Army of the Potomac, Sharpsburg, Maryland, October 1862

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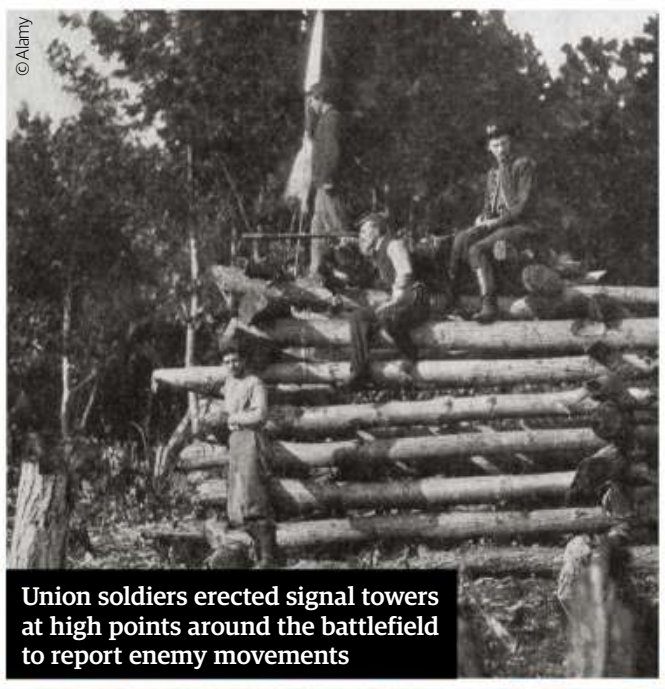


Union soldiers erected signal towers at high points around the battlefield to report enemy movements

© Alamy

LEE AND MCCLELLAN CLASH

Antietam would be a battle in three phases that spread across the day as the Union commander McClellan looked to smash into Lee's lines and open up a gap that he would then exploit with his considerable reinforcements. Lee's army was still badly under strength, spread out as it was around miles of Maryland countryside. He was aware that he would be reinforced by at least one fresh division (Major General AP Hill's Light Division) that was force-marching its way to the battlefield. It would be hours before its arrival, however, and for now his men simply had to defend for their lives against vastly superior Union forces. Scarred by his previous encounter with the Army of Northern Virginia earlier in the year, however, McClellan was anxious. He fretted as he stared at Lee's defensive lines, openly voicing his fears as to the actual strength of the enemy in front of him. Such fears, and a lack of conviction to use his army to the best of its abilities, would now dictate how he performed as a commander on the day of the battle.

Lee had ensured his men were in sound defensive works right along the length of his 5km of line – anchored by woods to his left and the Antietam Creek to his right. His lines of supply and communication were shorter than the Union's, who were spread further across in order to attack. This meant his commanders were close by to receive orders, he could rush reinforcements when needed from one side of the battle to the other, and crucially keep his forces supplied with ammunition against a tide of Union troops that was about to engulf them. His supply base was a few kilometres to his rear in the small town of Sharpesburg.

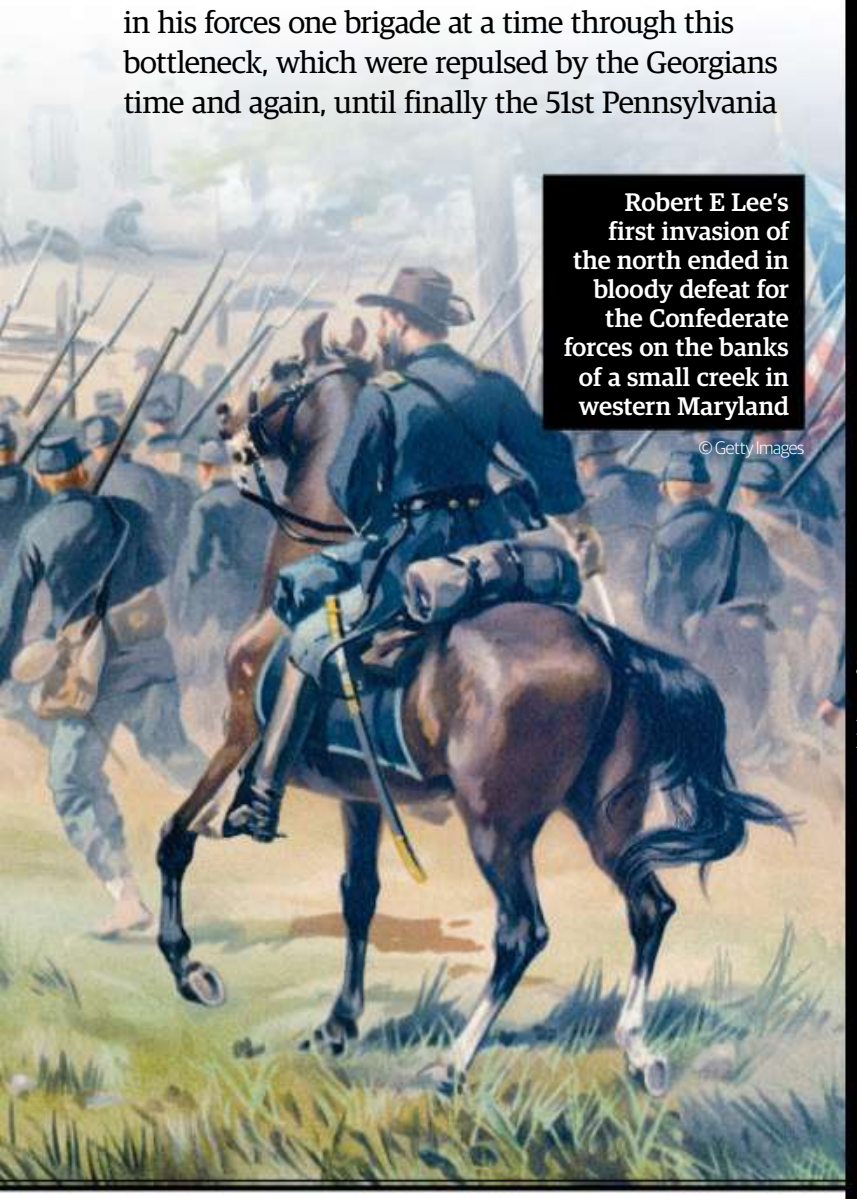
At dawn, on Lee's left flank, Major General Joseph 'Fighting Joe' Hooker's I Corps advanced up the Hagerstown Pike to dislodge the 7,000 men of Major General 'Stonewall' Jackson from a plateau on which sat a whitewashed church belonging to a local sect of pacifist German Baptists (the Dunkards). The fighting here would be fierce, as both sides fought for possession of cornfields that would change hands 15 times. Whole regiments entered the fray and disappeared in a firestorm of cannon and musketry. By 10am, two Union commanders had left the field wounded, and combined casualties stood at 13,000 men.

© Getty Images

The battle now opened up on the centre of the Confederate line as Major General Edwin V Sumner's Union II Corps moved toward the sunken road occupied by Major General DH Hill's division of 2,500 men. Although heavily outnumbered, the Confederates had strong natural defensive works to beat back the brigade-strength waves of blue. As the carnage continued, both sides reinforced until all of Lee's reserves had been used and, significantly, many of his subordinate commanders overseeing the defence were out of action.

Union infantry finally exposed a weak point in the line and began enfilading fire into the startled Southerners, wreaking havoc. During three hours, across an area of several hundred metres, over 5,000 men would fall, leading to the position being named 'Bloody Lane'. The desperate situation was further exacerbated when a miscommunication saw what remained of the Confederate centre about-face with the intent to retreat back to Sharpsburg. Major General James Longstreet's quick actions with a counterattack and artillery fire drove the Federals back to their original starting points, but still McClellan didn't respond with reinforcements to exploit the position.

By the afternoon, the focus of Union attacks now shifted to the southern end of the Confederate line. Here Lee's weakened right flank – he had taken various units away from this sector to reinforce along his northern lines – awaited to repulse Major General Ambrose Burnside's 12,000-strong X Corps, which advanced against 3,000 Confederates holding the ridges heading toward Sharpsburg. A small force of 400 Georgian infantry defended the vital stone-bridge crossing. Burnside sent in his forces one brigade at a time through this bottleneck, which were repulsed by the Georgians time and again, until finally the 51st Pennsylvania



Robert E Lee's first invasion of the north ended in bloody defeat for the Confederate forces on the banks of a small creek in western Maryland

© Getty Images

UNION

Image source: wiki/U.S. National Archives and Records Administration

GEORGE B MCCLELLAN

At the start of the Civil War, McClellan reenlisted and was shortly appointed to the rank of major general, commanding the Army of the Potomac. However, he fell out with President Lincoln having failed to pursue Lee at Antietam and was removed from command in November 1862.

Image source: wiki/U.S. National Archives and Records Administration

JOSEPH HOOKER

Hooker served in the Mexican-American War and returned to the military to fight for the Union, serving at Williamsburg, Antietam and Fredericksburg. He would face off against Robert E Lee again at Chancellorsville in 1863 where he won a decisive victory against the Confederate forces.

Image source: wiki/Library of Congress

AMBROSE BURNSIDE

Burnside was in command for the defeats at Fredericksburg and the Battle of the Crater, although he apparently didn't want the promotion in the first place. Post-war he would serve as the Governor of Rhode Island. Interestingly, the term 'sideburns' is derived from his name.

CONFEDERATE

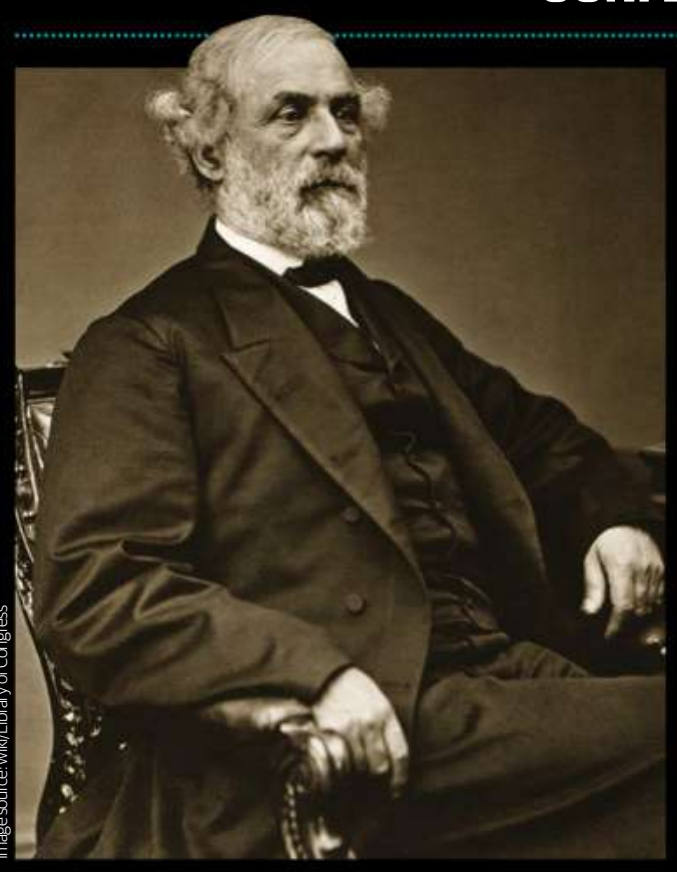


Image source: wiki/Library of Congress

ROBERT E LEE

Lee was in overall command of the Confederate forces during the Civil War. He was respected as a tactician. While Antietam ended inconclusively, Lee followed it with victories at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, only to be defeated as he launched a second invasion at Gettysburg.

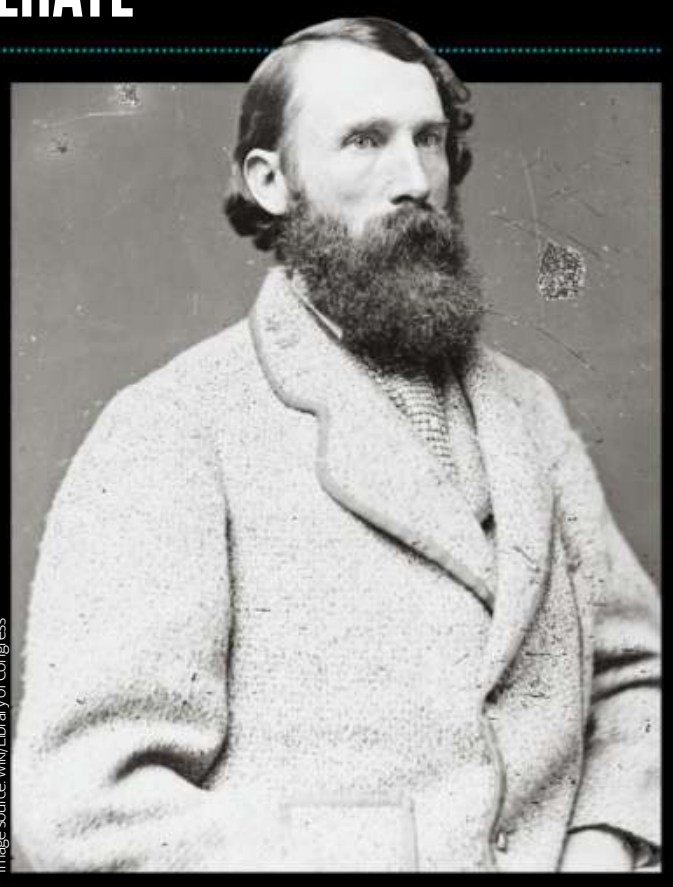


Image source: wiki/Library of Congress

AMBROSE POWELL HILL JR

Having gained some fame as the commander of the 'Light Division' in the Seven Days Battles, Hill was one of Stonewall Jackson's officers. At Antietam, Hill's timely arrival saved Lee's flank and brought the battle to an end. He was killed at the Third Battle of Petersburg in 1865.

established a bridgehead and a push on to the rebel base of Sharpsburg was expected imminently.

In the nick of time, as Burnside took another two hours to bring up supplies of ammunition, the Confederate Light Division of Hill arrived after a gruelling 27km forced march. They slammed into the advancing Federals, who by now were a mere 200m from capturing Sharpsburg itself, driving them back toward the creek and to the bridge they had expended so much blood capturing. An unnerved Burnside, not realising he still outnumbered this new force, begged McClellan for reinforcements, but despite two corps in reserve, he refused. By 5:30pm, all was quiet along the line as both sides recovered from the carnage that they had inflicted upon each other.

AFTERMATH

The Union had suffered 12,410 casualties, with 2,108 killed. The Army of Northern Virginia's losses were 10,316 with 1,547 dead, while over 3,500 from both sides would soon die of their wounds. Lee's smaller force could not afford such losses, which would be the pattern as the war progressed. In terms of combatants and casualties, the Battle of Antietam was around the same size as the Battle of Waterloo in 1815 between Napoleon and the Duke of Wellington. There would be another 20 such Waterloos before the Civil War came to an end.

The next day, both sides recovered their dead and exchanged their wounded under a flag of truce. McClellan's corps commanders urged him to continue the assault on the Confederate positions as its battered army retreated toward the safety of Virginia, having suffered 31 percent casualties. Though a pyrrhic victory, Lincoln soon seized the moment to announce his Emancipation Proclamation for the South's 3.5 million enslaved people, which secured the goal of discouraging foreign intervention for a negotiated settlement.

The notoriously bloody battle was one of the turning points of the American Civil War

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01 Lee makes a stand

General Robert E Lee deploys his Army of Northern Virginia along a ridgeline next to Antietam Creek and awaits attack from the Union Army of the Potomac, hoping that reinforcements, under General Stonewall Jackson, will arrive swiftly from Harpers Ferry.

01

SHARPSBURG

02 Fighting rages in the cornfield

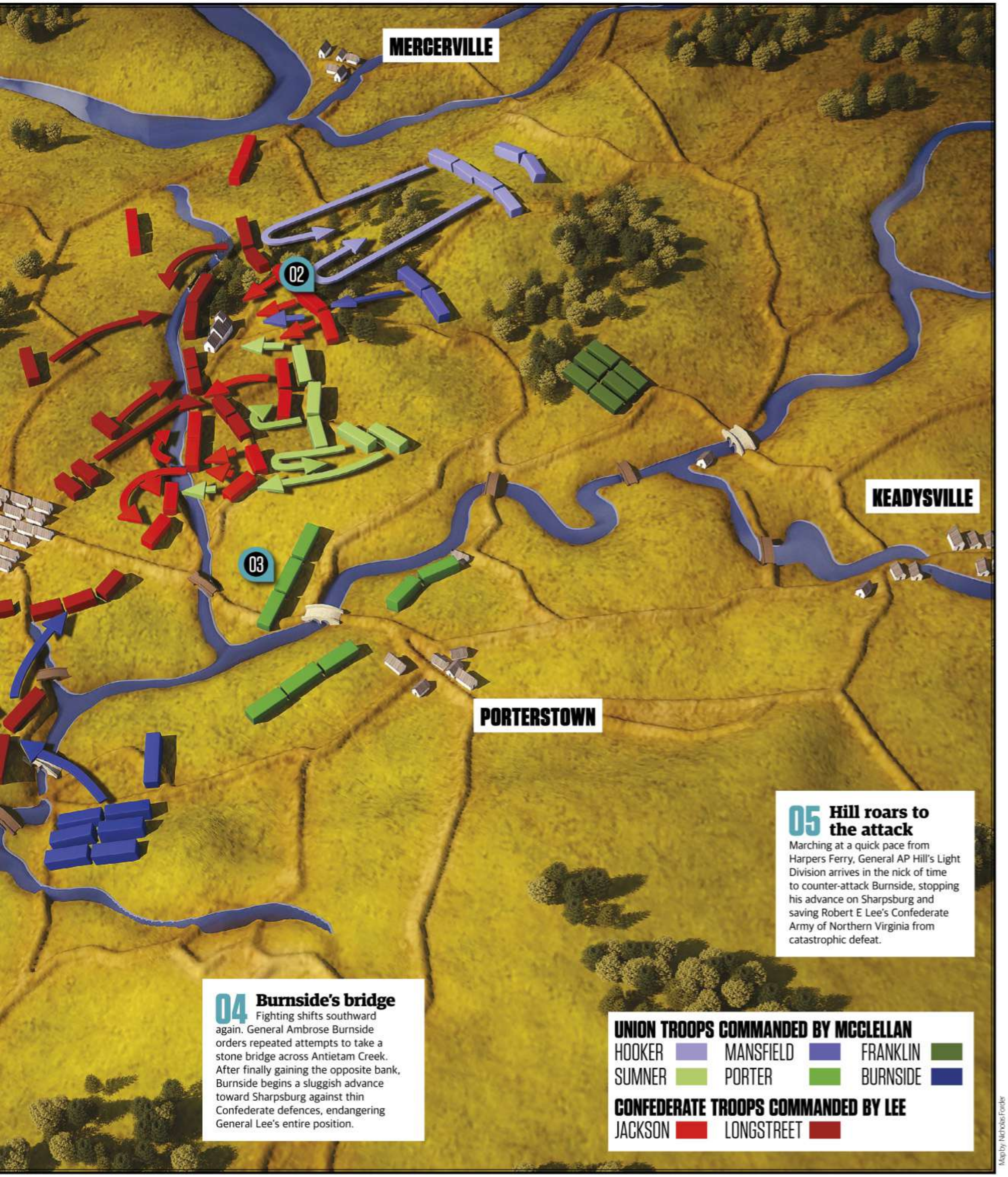
Early in the morning, a 24-acre cornfield becomes the centre of the storm on the Confederate left as combat ebbs and flows. Fighting also swirls around the nearby Dunker Church and the West Woods, but neither side gains the upper hand. Though much damage is done, Jackson's men do not give up.

05

04

03 Slaughter at the sunken road

The fighting shifts to the centre, where repeated Union attacks against the sunken road, later known as 'Bloody Lane', are repulsed. Finally, Union troops flank the defenders, turning the position into a deathtrap. No reinforcements appear to exploit the Confederate retreat.


MERCERVILLE
02
03
KEADYSVILLE
PORTERSTOWN
05 Hill roars to the attack
Marching at a quick pace from Harpers Ferry, General AP Hill's Light Division arrives in the nick of time to counter-attack Burnside, stopping his advance on Sharpsburg and saving Robert E Lee's Confederate Army of Northern Virginia from catastrophic defeat.
04 Burnside's bridge
Fighting shifts southward again. General Ambrose Burnside orders repeated attempts to take a stone bridge across Antietam Creek. After finally gaining the opposite bank, Burnside begins a sluggish advance toward Sharpsburg against thin Confederate defences, endangering General Lee's entire position.
UNION TROOPS COMMANDED BY MCCLELLAN
HOOKER
MANSFIELD
FRANKLIN
SUMNER
PORTER
BURNSIDE
CONFEDERATE TROOPS COMMANDED BY LEE
JACKSON
LONGSTREET

Map by Nicholas Forder

What If...

ANNE BOLEYN HAD STAYED IN FRANCE?

Without the most infamous of Henry VIII's queens, Tudor England's religious and political landscape may have been entirely different

Interview by Emily Staniforth

INTERVIEW WITH

HAYLEY NOLAN

Hayley Nolan is an historian and the author of *Anne Boleyn: 500 Years of Lies* (Little A, 2019). She launched the Be More Boleyn campaign with the Houses of Parliament.

© Amanda Ward

In 1522, Anne Boleyn returned to England from France, where she had spent part of her late childhood in the service of Queen Claude. Accomplished and desirable, Anne soon caught the eye of Henry VIII, and it was Anne for whom he left his wife of 23 years, Catherine of Aragon. The annulment sent ripples throughout England and immeasurably altered the religious and political face of the country. But was Anne's presence necessary for this change? And would the religious and anti-poverty activism identified by historian Hayley Nolan as a key feature of Anne's reign have materialised without her?

What might Anne's life in France have looked like if she had not returned to England in 1522?

It seems likely that after the death of her mistress, Queen Claude, in 1524 Anne would have gone on to work within the household of the French king's sister, Marguerite d'Angoulême. Alternatively she could have transferred to Claude's sister, Lady Renée, who was set to inherit the Duchy of Brittany. But knowing how controversial Anne's religious work became during her time in England – all of which was inspired by her radical upbringing among the reformists of the French courts – it's possible she would have become even more embroiled in the religious Reformation if she had stayed. With the recklessness we saw her display when challenging the oppressors of the Tudor Court, there is a high likelihood Anne would have wound up jailed in France for her activism, like the reformists she rescued as Queen of England. Her chaplain, William Latymer, spoke of Anne saving French humanist poet and religious reformer Nicholas Bourbon when he was jailed in 1533 for his provocative book *Nugae*. Anne's amnesty also included rescuing Mr Sturmius, a reformist scholar in Paris jailed in 1534, and a Mrs Marye in France who was also jailed for her religion. So perhaps Anne would have lived just as short a life in France due to her relentless passion for the evangelical cause, or perhaps it would have fallen to Marguerite d'Angoulême to save her.

Would Henry VIII still have left Catherine of Aragon for another woman? And if Henry's second wife had given birth to a son, would Henry have continued to marry several times?

It's a misconception that Henry VIII left Catherine of Aragon for Anne Boleyn. We have evidence that Henry was looking into leaving Catherine long before he turned his attention to Anne. Wolsey went to France to meet with Queen Claude's sister Lady Renée as a possible new bride for the king while secretly enquiring about an annulment. This was corroborated by the Bishop of Lincoln, John Longland, who heard mutterings

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Main image source: © Alamy, © Getty Images

RIGHT
Henry may have courted a different woman

THE PAST

1522-30

COURTLY LOVE

After Anne arrived back at the English court she was not short of suitors. Her flirtations with Henry Percy and Thomas Wyatt dominated her attention until 1526 when the king began to show an interest in her. It is not known for certain when the two first met, but by 1527 Henry was openly trying to get his marriage to Catherine of Aragon annulled. Cardinal Wolsey's failure to get an annulment for Henry from the pope led to him being accused of treason. He died in 1530, before he could face trial. Henry remained determined to marry Anne.

1531-33

MARRIAGE TO THE KING

In 1531 Pope Clement VII threatened Henry with excommunication if he married Anne. Henry argued that his current marriage went against the teachings of the Bible, which he claimed banned a man from marrying his brother's widow (Catherine had previously been married to Henry's older brother, Arthur, before his death in 1502). However, the pope would not concede and so Henry married Anne in secret in November 1532 and then held a public ceremony in January 1533. Henry's marriage to Catherine was annulled by the new Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer in May 1533.

1533-36

A SHORT REIGN

Anne served as queen of England for three years, during which time her family grew to be influential figures at the English court. She gave birth to Princess Elizabeth in September 1533 but did not have any more children, which continued Henry's frustration at not having a son and heir. Anne championed evangelicalism as queen, while Henry broke away from the papacy and set up the Church of England, of which he was the supreme head. Henry began to grow tired of Anne, who had suffered several miscarriages, and accused her of adultery. She was executed on 19 May 1536.

of divorce as early as 1522. So I believe Henry could very well have followed through with the annulment, even if Anne wasn't in the picture. The fact that Henry was seeking a divorce when he had no firm replacement bride lined up proves his desperate need for a son was driving him more than his lust for another woman. And although France was against the idea of Henry re-marrying without papal approval, it's possible England may have won them round eventually. So if he had succeeded in marrying Lady Renée and she had produced Henry's hallowed son, then there would be no motivation for him to remarry. In fact, we know he would have been reluctant to, just as he was following Jane Seymour's death. He had his son, so it took the king's advisors two years to cajole Henry into a new marriage to Anne of Cleves for political reasons, compared to the 11 days it took him to marry Jane Seymour after executing Anne Boleyn.

Would the Break from Rome have happened and what, if any, impact would there have been on religion in England without Anne's presence?

If Henry was still adamant on an annulment but there was no future wife waiting in the wings, perhaps Henry would have been cowed by his advisors into striking a deal with Rome. The Duke of Norfolk was actively plying the Venetians with trade deals to gain their support and avoid a war, so perhaps, with a little more time, they would have come to an amicable agreement for an annulment. But how much religious reform would have taken place in England if they were still tied to Rome? England already had reformists such as Robert Barnes and Bible translator William Tyndale, but both were driven into exile. Reform within the Church required someone in a position of power to champion it – which, judging by the work she undertook in her reign, is why Anne Boleyn accepted the king's marriage proposal in the first place. Without Anne, we wouldn't have had Thomas Cranmer, who she appointed as Archbishop of Canterbury. After Anne's death it was he who wrote to Henry VIII begging he continue his support for reform. It was also Archbishop Cranmer who petitioned the king, through Cromwell as intermediary, to introduce the first English Bible. With the growing unrest in Europe, someone would have eventually broken through the ranks, as Anne

ABOVE
Anne could have ended up imprisoned in France

did, but I have a feeling it would have had to fall to the next generation. Even though Cromwell championed reform later in his career, when Martin Luther was calling out the abuse of Church indulgences, Cromwell was petitioning the pope that same year, in 1517, to sell indulgences of his own.

What might have happened within Henry VIII's court without the influence of Anne Boleyn? Would figures like Cardinal Wolsey and Thomas More have continued to serve in Henry's government?

If Henry was somehow persuaded to stay with Catherine of Aragon, then advisors such as Wolsey and More would have remained. Knowing how ruthless Cromwell was in overthrowing Anne Boleyn, there is no doubt he still would have risen through the ranks and replaced his master, Wolsey, eventually. During his time under the cardinal, Cromwell was tasked with converting six monasteries into Cardinal College in Oxford. When he discovered the money that could be made, Cromwell was commanded to dissolve a further 30 monasteries to fund Wolsey's Ipswich Grammar school. So even though they may not have had a reason to implement a widespread dissolution of all monasteries, Cromwell may very well have gone on to propose a partial dissolution styled as 'streamlining' to

ABOVE
Elizabeth I would never have been born

fund the country's defences and any future wars, as neither were cheap.

Is it possible that the Boleyns and the Howards would still have become such prominent and influential families without Anne's position as queen of England?

It's widely assumed that Anne's father Thomas Boleyn achieved his peerage through his daughters' affairs with the king. But Thomas' royal career was extensive and high-profile enough to require no acts of nepotism in order to achieve the status he did. Without Anne, it's highly likely the Boleyn men would still have risen. George Boleyn became a parliamentarian and ambassador at a young age, advanced undoubtedly due to his sister's influence, but George always had ambitions to follow in his father's footsteps and so would have still ascended but on a slower trajectory. The Boleyns might even have eclipsed the Howards in history for all the right reasons. Anne's uncle, Thomas Howard, the 3rd Duke of Norfolk, had been pushed into near retirement by Wolsey, kept away from court for years on end. It was only when Anne accepted the king's proposal that he returned, without which the Howards may have faded into obscurity.

What might Tudor England and the Tudor dynasty have looked like without the existence of Anne's daughter Elizabeth I?

It is not just Elizabeth I who wouldn't have existed without Anne Boleyn, but there would be no Edward VI, as Anne Boleyn paved the way for Henry to marry Jane Seymour. She set the precedent for kings once again marrying commoners, and although Jane served Catherine of Aragon and was part of Henry's royal circle, as an ardent Catholic herself who only replaced Anne Boleyn to see the monarchy return to Catholicism, she and her faction would have had no ammunition to pursue Henry this time round. Also, without Anne or Elizabeth I, England wouldn't have had its first effective Poor Law. As my corrective biography of Anne proved, Anne Boleyn was a religious activist who championed poor relief in England. Though history calls it 'Cromwell's Poor Law', it was Anne Boleyn and her protégé William Marshall who introduced it to the king, and the king who assigned Cromwell to develop it with them. But when Anne proposed she establish a rival government council to oversee the new scheme – consisting of a Tudor 'Job Centre' and free healthcare – it appears that Cromwell sabotaged the revolutionary Poor Law by replacing it with a drastically diluted version consisting of donation boxes and a ban on begging. However, it turns out parts of the Elizabethan Poor Law were replicated word for word from Marshall and Anne's abandoned original and revolutionary draft document. Elizabeth continuing her mother's legacy would never have happened if Anne had remained in France.

ABOVE
The Reformation and the influence of Martin Luther would have reached England

THE POSSIBILITY

1522

THE KING'S HEAD IS TURNED

With Henry desperate for a son and heir, he probably would have begun to look for a suitable new wife even if he hadn't met Anne. He may have found that with a foreign princess, or within his own court as Henry was known to have taken several mistresses, including Anne's sister, Mary Carey (nee Boleyn). One of these women may have been Henry's next queen, and may have given him his much-desired son. If this had happened, Henry may never have married again and he may have lived the rest of his life content with his wife and children – and probably a few mistresses.

1522

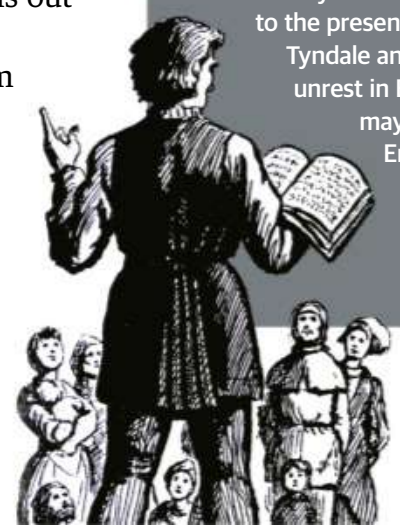
SHORT-LIVED ACTIVISM

Anne's ambition and capabilities as an intelligent woman may have seen her life take a similar course in France as it had in England. If Anne had pursued her religious activism in France, she may have been jailed for associating with prominent reformists and being involved in the dissemination of reformist ideas. However, without her position as queen of England, it is hard to say how much freedom and influence Anne would have held at the French court. Her ability to participate in reform would have been dependent on the status of her husband, or of the fondness her mistress felt for her.

1522

RELIGIOUS REVOLUTION

Had Henry's need to divorce Catherine of Aragon arisen without Anne's presence at court, it is highly likely that he would have still encountered resistance from the papacy. Tensions between England and Rome had been steadily rising but careful negotiations may have seen the issue resolved. However, reform may still have come to England due to the presence of figures like William Tyndale and the growing sense of unrest in Europe. The Reformation may not have taken hold in England as quickly if Henry had not been desperate to marry Anne, but some form of religious unrest would have occurred.



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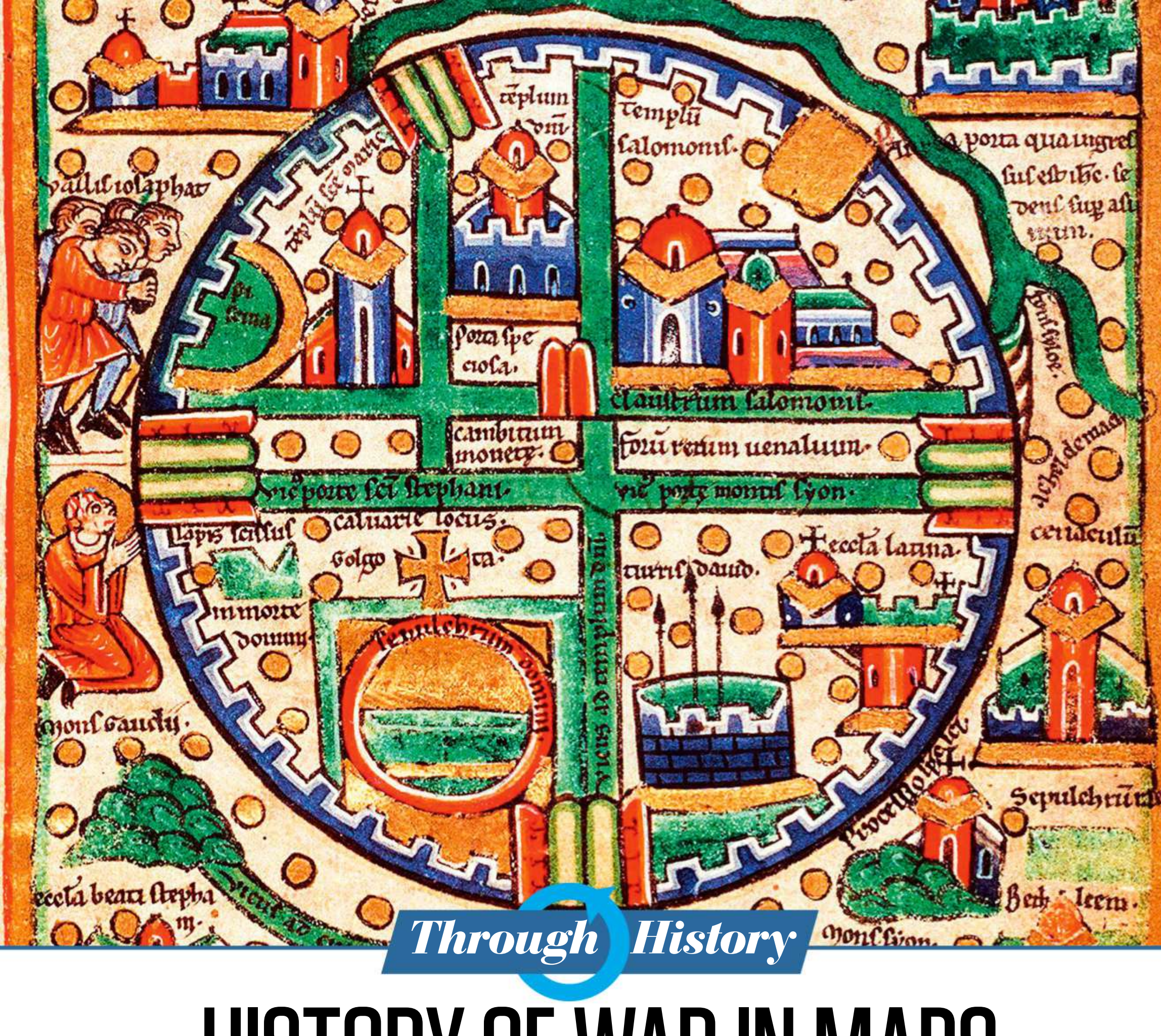


Through History

HISTORY OF WAR IN MAPS

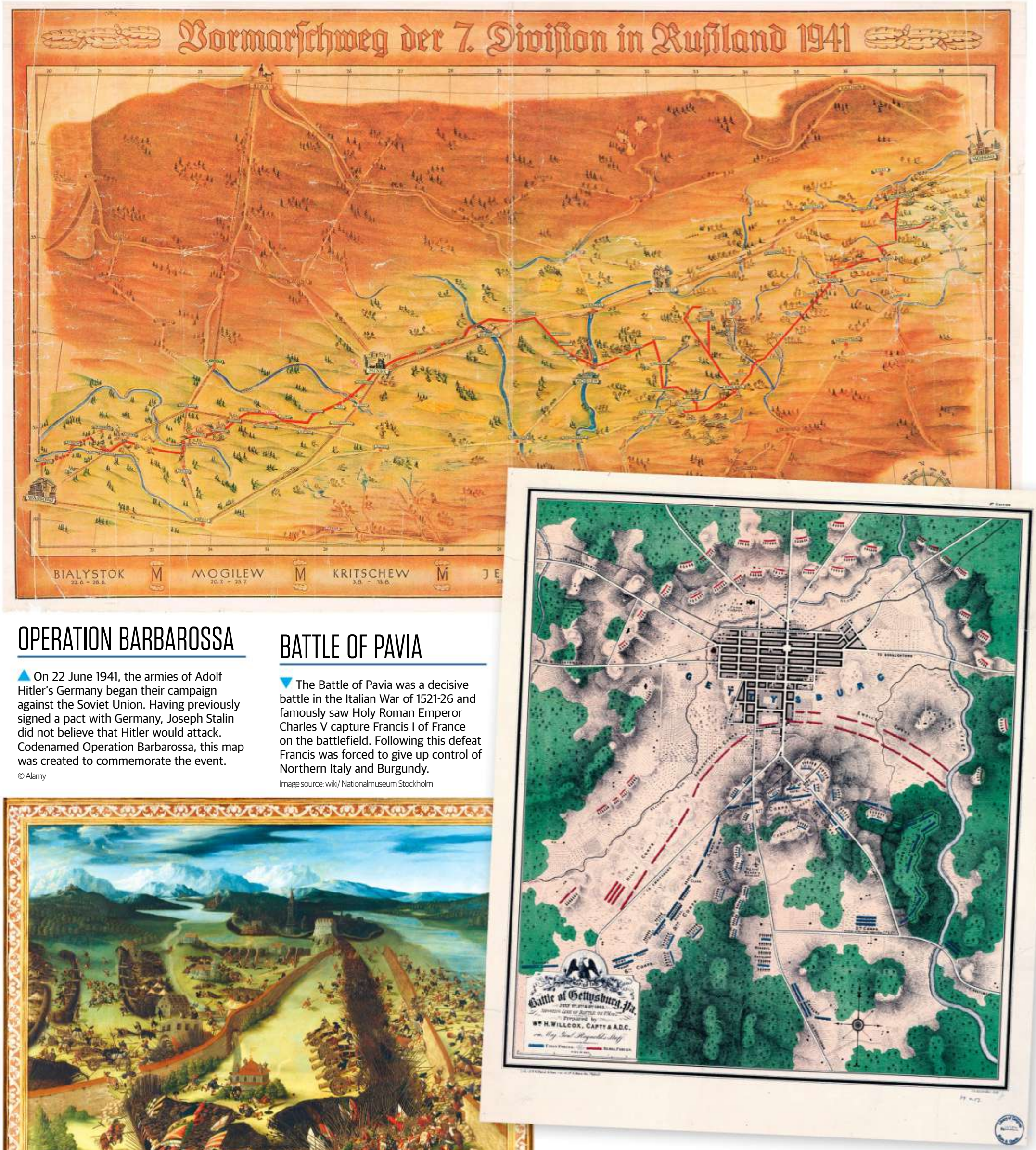
A new book from HarperCollins showcases a number of battles using maps designed not only to plan the conflict but also to disseminate news or propaganda

Maps are a tool that we now take for granted. Smartphones have apps that allow us to instantly see a map of the area we're in should we find ourselves lost, as well as provide directions home. The history of maps goes back some 5,000 years and they are a particularly important part of not only daily life but politics as well. No topic demonstrates this better than warfare.

According to historian and author Philip Parker, maps created for overtly military purposes were not used widely until the 17th century. Instead, they were used to illustrate particular battles and campaigns, either for the purpose of political propaganda or to celebrate a great strategic victory. The result is that many of them are not simple cartographic illustrations but vivid works of art.

Now Parker's book from HarperCollins - *History of War in Maps* - presents a lavish look at various battles through the use of maps. Some of these were created for use during the conflict, others as more commemorative objects after the fact, and some resemble paintings rather than examples of cartography. However, all are stunning visualisations of the conflicts they portray.

Main image: © Alamy



OPERATION BARBAROSSA

▲ On 22 June 1941, the armies of Adolf Hitler's Germany began their campaign against the Soviet Union. Having previously signed a pact with Germany, Joseph Stalin did not believe that Hitler would attack. Codenamed Operation Barbarossa, this map was created to commemorate the event.

© Alamy

BATTLE OF PAVIA

▼ The Battle of Pavia was a decisive battle in the Italian War of 1521-26 and famously saw Holy Roman Emperor Charles V capture Francis I of France on the battlefield. Following this defeat Francis was forced to give up control of Northern Italy and Burgundy.

Image source: wiki/ Nationalmuseum Stockholm

BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG

▲ The bloodiest battle of the entire American Civil War, the 1863 victory for the Union forces would result in General Robert E Lee fleeing south. The conflict would rage for another two years before finally ending with the surrender of the Confederate forces. More than 50,000 troops are estimated to have died at Gettysburg.

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FIRST ANGLO-AFGHAN WAR

Between 1839 and 1842 the British Empire was involved in a prolonged and extremely costly conflict with Afghanistan following fears of Russian influence in the region. The eventual defeat was catastrophic and a huge blow to perceived British imperial might.

© Alamy

FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE

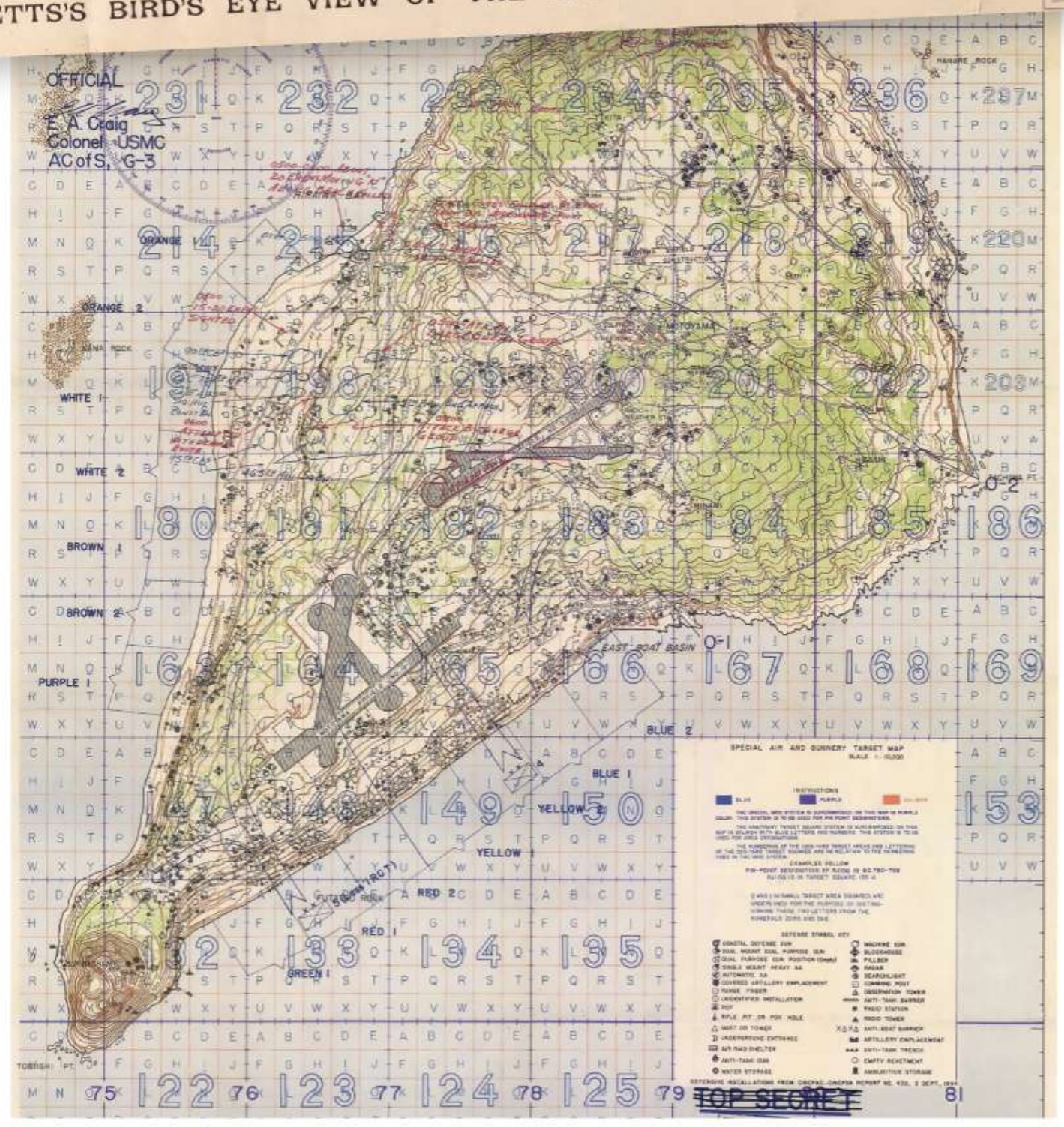
Led by Mehmed II, the Ottoman Empire's capture of Constantinople marked the collapse of the once-great Byzantine Empire. This followed a 53-day siege of the great city by the Ottoman forces.

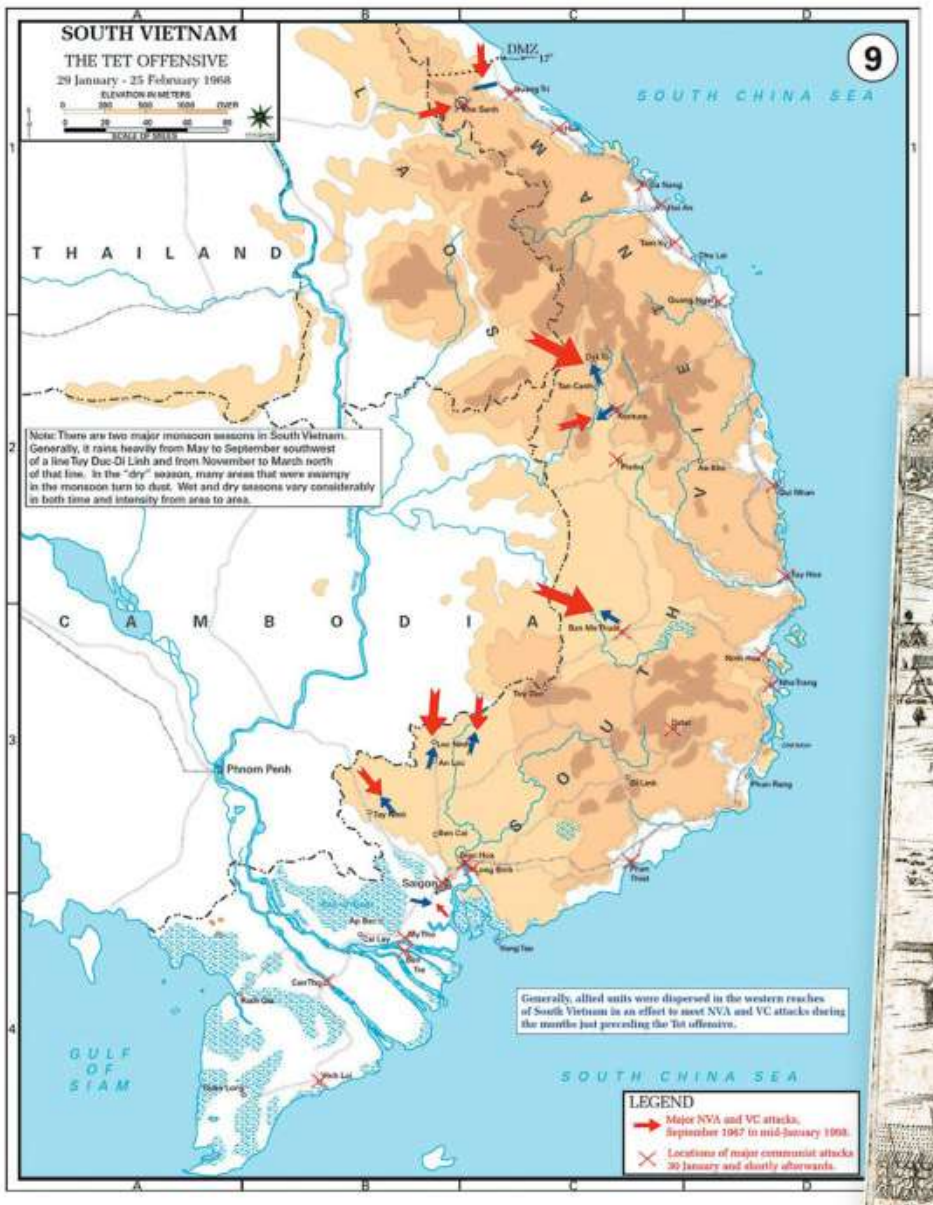
© Alamy

BATTLE OF IWO JIMA

During World War II, US forces in the Pacific were using the Mariana Islands to launch bombing raids. However, with their planes being attacked by Japanese fighters taking off from Iwo Jima, the Americans had no choice but to take the island. Famously during the battle six US Marines raised a United States flag on Mount Suribachi.

Image source: wiki/lib.utexas.edu




SOUTH VIETNAM
THE TET OFFENSIVE
29 January - 25 February 1968
9
SOUTH CHINA SEA
THAILAND
LAOS
CAMBODIA
SOUTH VIETNAM
DMZ
Note: There are two major monsoon seasons in South Vietnam. Generally, it rains heavily from May to September southwest of a line Tay Duc-Di Linh and from November to March north of that line. In the "dry" season, many areas that were swampy in the monsoon turn to dust. Wet and dry seasons vary considerably in both time and intensity from area to area.
Phnom Penh
Saigon
Generally, allied units were dispersed in the western reaches of South Vietnam in an effort to meet NVA and VC attacks during the months just preceding the Tet offensive.
GULF OF SIAM
SOUTH CHINA SEA
LEGEND
Major NVA and VC attacks, September 1967 to mid-January 1968.
Locations of major communist attacks 30 January and shortly afterwards.

THE TET OFFENSIVE

The 1968 Tet Offensive was a series of attacks by the North Vietnamese on over 100 US targets in Vietnam. Designed to inspire an uprising from the South Vietnamese, the offensive was eventually defeated but led to the collapse of support for the war in America.

© Alamy

BATTLE OF VIENNA

In 1683 the Ottoman Empire was on the brink of capturing the besieged city of Vienna. However, the Polish King Jan III Sobieski came to Vienna's rescue and was able to push back the invading forces. The Ottoman Empire's defeat in this battle is often viewed as the beginning of its decline and eventual collapse.

© Alamy

History of War in Maps by Philip Parker is out on 15 September, published by HarperCollins and priced £25

REVIEWS

The books, TV shows and films causing a stir in the history world this month

Main image: © Jeremy Sutton-Hibbert/ Alamy Stock photo @Sky UK Limited. Inset image: © 2022 Sky UK LTD

THE PRINCESS

The life of Princess Diana is retold using just archival news footage and audio

Certificate: 12A **Director:** Ed Perkins **Released:** Out now

The story of Princess Diana remains a controversial one to the British public. The scandal surrounding her divorce from Prince Charles, as well as her tragic death in a car accident in Paris on 31 August 1997, continues to divide opinion. In particular public anger has been focused on the treatment of Diana by both the monarchy and the British press. Cinematic takes on her life are nothing new (2021 saw the release of Pablo Larrain's highly recommended *Spencer*) and documentaries about her are common. But Ed Perkins' *The Princess* is a refreshing and inventive take on the subject and has been crowned "the definitive Princess Diana documentary" by *Rolling Stone*, a statement it's hard to disagree with.

The use of exclusively archival footage might initially sound disappointing, after all can anything new be said if you're only using words that have already been spoken? The answer is a resounding yes. Perkins' work highlights the media's treatment of Diana far more than the secondary opinion of a historian ever could. He has pulled from an amazing number of sources, not only news footage but also home movies and a veritable wealth of B-roll. We open on a couple vacationing in Paris, witnessing Diana's car speeding away from paparazzi on the night of the fateful accident. We see a group of friends partying only for their celebrations to be shattered by the news of her death. These reactions are raw and honest, not performances for street-side vox pops.

Admittedly Perkins' decision to use archival footage does cause some problems. A vague familiarity with the Diana story would perhaps help as the lack of talking heads or supporting text does mean that there is no guiding hand to deliver even basic explanations. Additionally, by attempting to tell the entire story in a runtime of just under two hours, some aspects are also understandably rushed past. However, given that a large number of viewers will have lived through at least some portion of these events and others can quite easily Google search any areas they are unfamiliar with, this hardly warrants a major criticism.

One of the documentary's most distressing moments is a clip of Diana desperately trying to cover her face as she flees through an airport pursued by a horde of rabid paparazzi. Not only is this an upsetting example of her exploitation, which we the audience are forced to partake in, but it also helps the documentary ask a fundamental question. How much can the public, through its obsession with the princess, also be considered culpable in the media's treatment of her? Perhaps even more directly, how much are we, the viewer of this documentary, still a part of this? The hunger for content concerning the People's Princess has never really gone away and her memory and the memory of her very public exploitation still haunts us. The question *The Princess* seems to ask us is this: did that exploitation ever really end? ***CM***

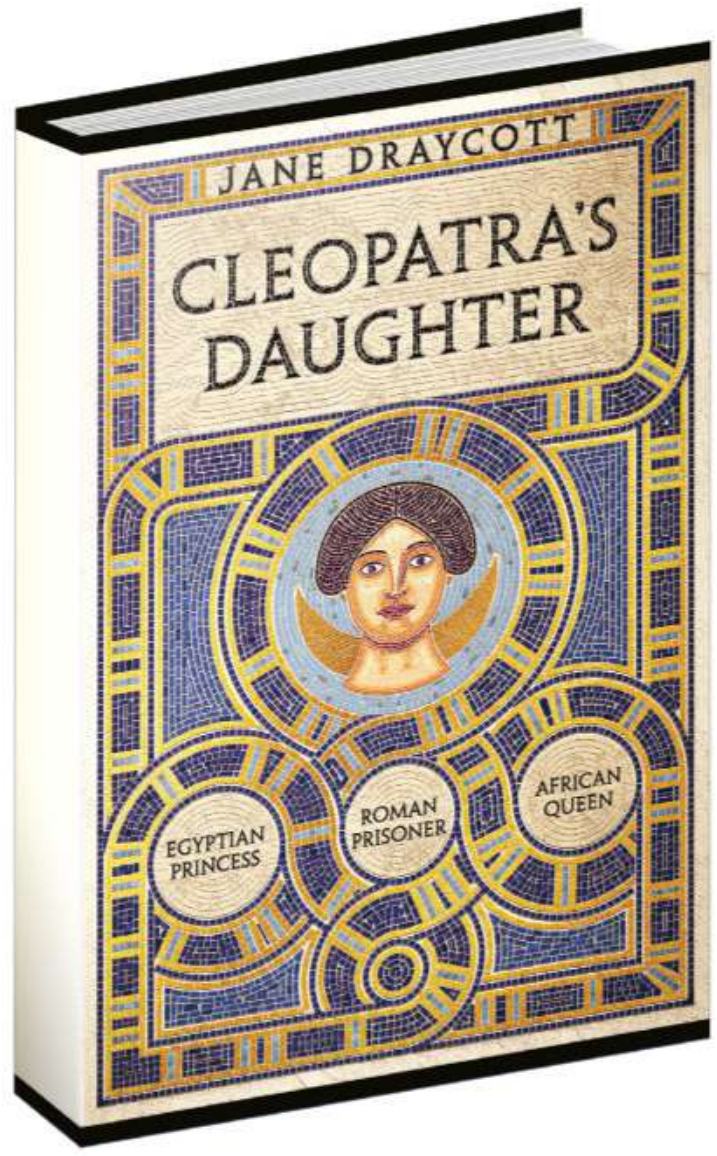
★★★★★

Reviews by
Callum McKelvie, Jessica Leggett, Catherine Curzon

CLEOPATRA'S DAUGHTER

Restoring Cleopatra Selene II to her rightful place in history

Author: Jane Draycott **Publisher:** Head of Zeus **Price:** £27.99
Released: 10 November



Most people will have heard of Cleopatra VII and Mark Antony's romance. Yet their daughter, Cleopatra Selene II, has been largely forgotten. The first biography of Cleopatra Selene, written by historian and archaeologist Dr Jane Draycott, aims to change this.

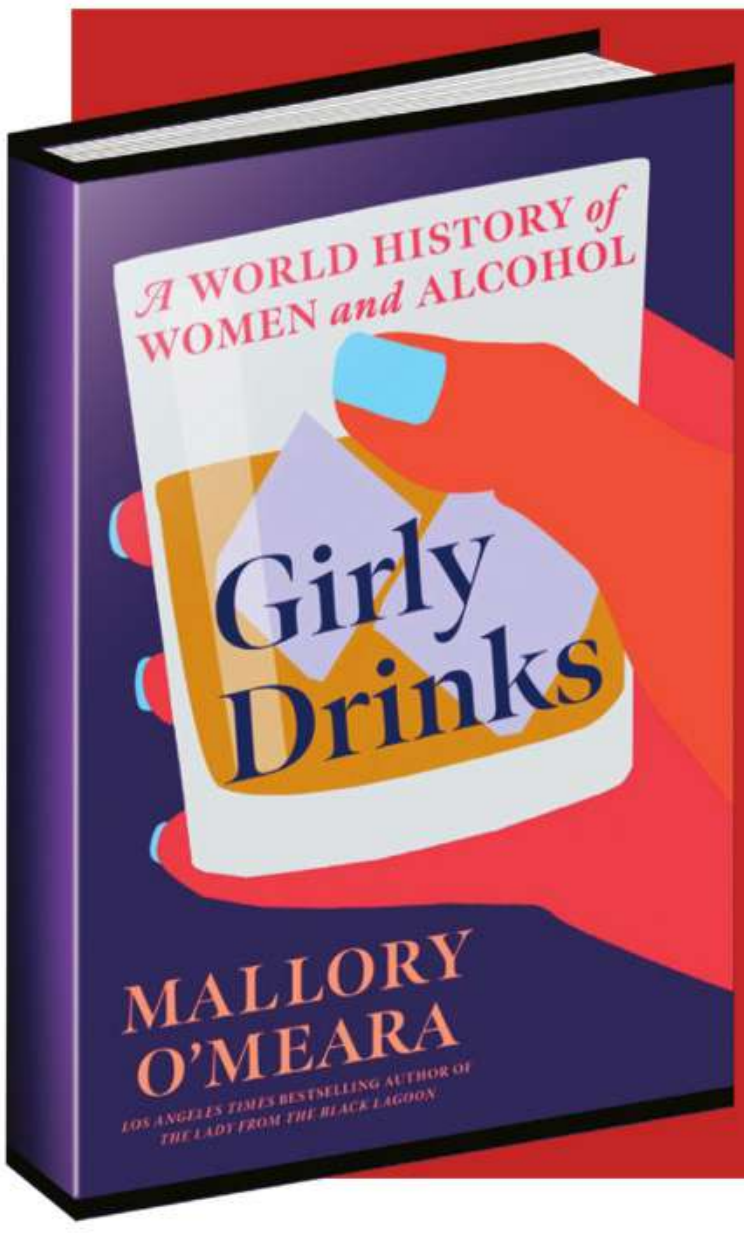
Draycott's painstaking recreation of Cleopatra Selene's life was inspired by the 1895 discovery of a Roman silverware bowl depicting her. Draycott employs wide-ranging context to frame Cleopatra Selene's life, emotional state and relationships, providing the reader with a strong understanding of the world she lived in.

After losing her parents, Cleopatra Selene – who spent the first ten years of her life in Egypt – found herself in the hands of Octavian (also known as Augustus). Having to adjust to a new life as a Roman prisoner, she was torn between her Ptolemaic tendencies and the expectations placed on Roman women.

Draycott hypothesises that our lack of knowledge about Cleopatra Selene's life in Rome is a result of her quiet life, adherence to social norms and subsequent failure to catch the attention of influential Roman authors. Eventually, she married Juba II, King of Mauretania, a Roman client kingdom in North Africa, where she experienced both freedom and power, proving herself a capable ruler before her death around 35.

It is clear from reading this biography that Cleopatra Selene was a complex individual who led a remarkable life. No less fascinating than her famous mother, anyone who wants to learn more about this underappreciated female ruler should read this book. ***JL***

★★★★★


A WORLD HISTORY of WOMEN and ALCOHOL
Girly Drinks
MALLORY O'MEARA
LOS ANGELES TIMES BESTSELLING AUTHOR OF THE LADY FROM THE BLACK LAGOON

GIRLY DRINKS A WORLD HISTORY OF WOMEN AND ALCOHOL

A journey through the history of women and booze

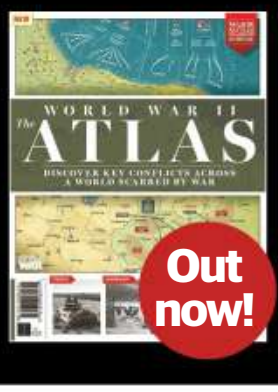
Author: Mallory O'Meara **Publisher:** C Hurst & Co
Price: £14.99 **Released:** Out now

In *Girly Drinks: A World History of Women and Alcohol*, Mallory O'Meara delves into the sometimes eyebrow-raising history of women not only drinking alcohol, but making it and serving it too. From the very first discovery of alcohol to the brewnuns of the Middle Ages, the vodka empire of Catherine the Great and some serious old Hollywood glamour, all of boozy life is here – and what life it is.

This comprehensive journey from the dawn of booze up to modern-day bar culture examines the part alcohol has played and still plays in social spaces, rituals and cultures across the globe. It also analyses just why it is that women have become so marginalised in its history, and when and how bars became male spaces and drinking a gendered act. This is no simple cocktail guide and there are no recipes here, but instead a fascinating and eye-opening wander through centuries of drinking, from both sides of the bar.

Girly Drinks: A World History of Women and Alcohol, introduces readers to a whole host of colourful characters and examines the vital but unsung role women have played in the history of alcohol. Its chatty, accessible tone makes it an easy read but the research and insight is anything but casual. This is a book that really does examine a strand of history that has been neglected and many readers will find it fascinating, whatever their field of interest. ***CC***

★★★★½



World War II: The Atlas

This bookazine, from the makers of **History of War**, explores the conflict that touched every corner of the globe. It spotlights the battlegrounds where the fighting was the fiercest, identifies the pivotal leaders who led armies into fierce battles and offers detailed maps of the key events. Get ready to rewind the clock and journey across a world scarred by war.

Buy *World War II: The Atlas* in shops or online at **magazinesdirect.com Price:** £12.99

HISTORY of WAR **RECOMMENDS...**

Pauline Gower: Pioneering leader of the Spitfire women

Author Alison Hill **Price** £14.99
Publisher The History Press

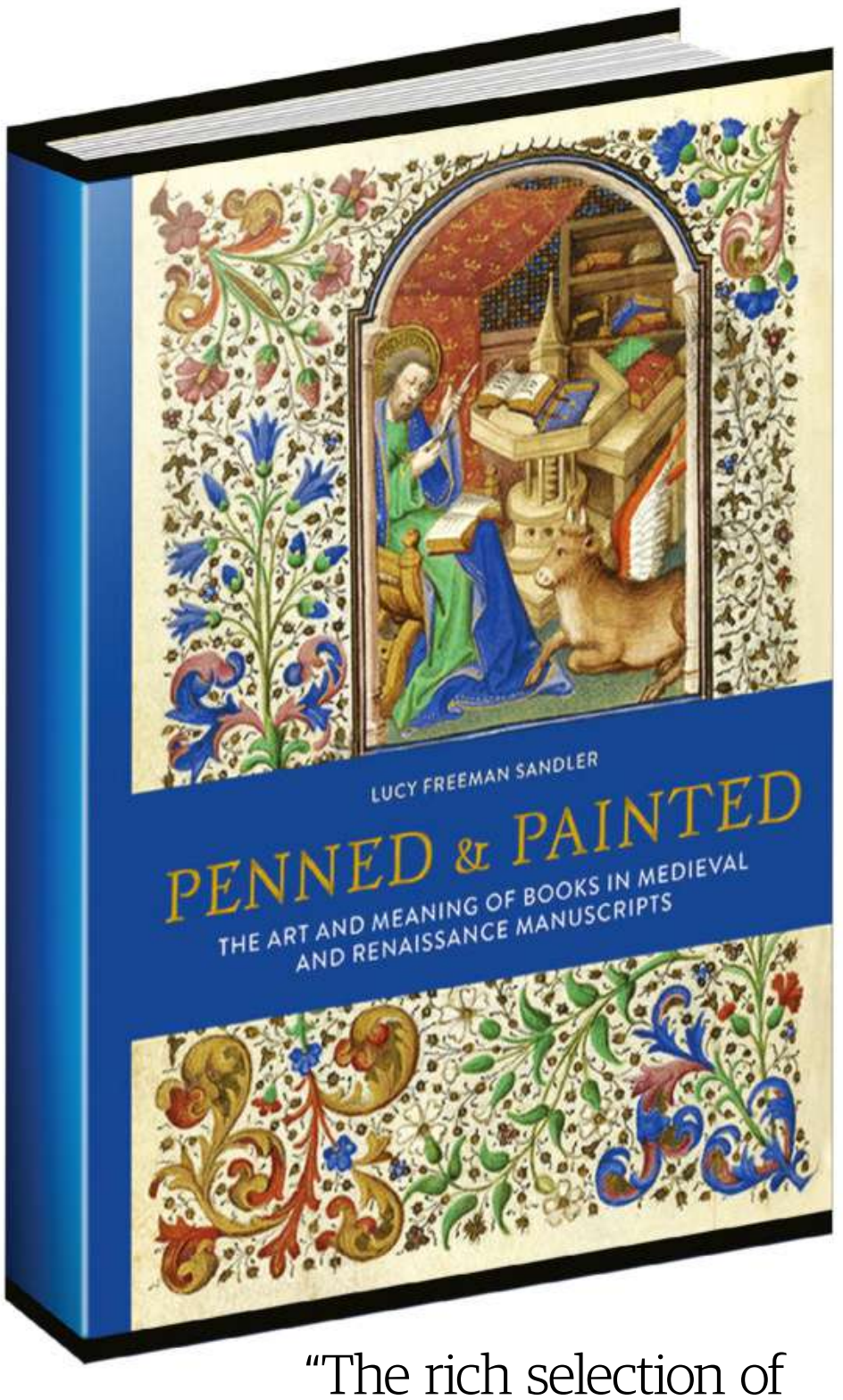
Alison Hill takes the reader through Pauline Gower's non-stop life, from running an air-taxi service in Kent to publishing a collection of poetry – Piffling Poems for Pilots – to training a reserve of British pilots and becoming the first woman on the BOAC board as well as the first women allowed inside a RAF plane.

PENNED & PAINTED

THE ART AND MEANING OF BOOKS IN MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE MANUSCRIPTS

A personal journey through the British Library's most treasured manuscripts

Authors: Lucy Freeman Sandler **Publisher:** British Library Publishing **Price:** £25 **Released:** Out now



"The rich selection of illustrations is like lifting a lid on a treasure trove"

Throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the book was central to scholarship and learning. It played an important role in both secular and religious life too, and books were often highly decorated works of art in themselves, their expensive pages rich with illustrative images of other books. In *Penned & Painted: The Art and Meaning of Books in Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, Lucy Freeman Sandler takes the reader on a personal tour through some of the most treasured items in the manuscript holdings of the British Library to examine these books within books, offering a wealth of fascinating insight and some truly remarkable pieces.

Selecting 60 manuscripts from the British Library with which to tell her story, Lucy Freeman Sandler examines exactly what books meant to the people of the Medieval and Renaissance worlds. *Penned & Painted* is divided into two sections: the first considering the use of books as symbols and the second to the practical use of books during the era. The chapters that make up these two sections really do run the gamut, covering everything from sacred religious texts to the works of Aristotle and the education of women, as well as some germane advice on how to be a king. Each manuscript is presented as a simple page essay and a collection of vivid colour plates that perfectly illustrate the accompanying text. In these pages those who worked on or used these manuscripts and the world in which they lived come vividly back to life. The book closes with a sobering essay on the salvage and destruction of books, and given the treasures presented in these pages it's striking to consider just what has been lost to history over the centuries.

Although the items covered are not ordered chronologically or geographically, the appendices include chronological and geographical lists of the manuscripts covered. There is also an exhaustive and extremely welcome glossary and a selection of references broken down by period, region and imagery.

As befits a book on this subject, *Penned & Painted* is a very handsome tome indeed. The plates are recreated in crisp, clear colours, and the rich selection of illustrations is like lifting the lid on a treasure trove. It is likely as close as most of us will ever get to experiencing these remarkable manuscripts personally, and it is a more than adequate substitute. Lucy Freeman Sandler is the perfect guide on this journey and her expertise, enthusiasm and authority is evident on every page. This is a book rich with insight and one that should appeal to a wide range of readers. From experts on the subject to those with a passing interest in Medieval and Renaissance or art history, there is much to enjoy here. It is a fascinating and highly evocative work. ***CC***

★★★★★

HISTORY VS HOLLYWOOD

Fact versus fiction on the silver screen

MUNICH

Director: Steven Spielberg Starring: Eric Bana, Daniel Craig, Geoffrey Rush
Country: Israel Year: 2005

Violence begets more violence in this allegorical revision of real events

VERDICT: Chooses to go with the fiction rather than the reality of events

01 The film opens and revisits the 1972 Munich Olympics when 11 Israeli athletes were taken hostage by Palestinian militants Black September. As shown, two athletes were killed in the kidnapping and the others, along with five terrorists, died in a failed rescue.

02 Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir orders Mossad (Israeli intelligence) to hunt and kill those responsible for the attacks. She is shown to be involved in recruiting Avner Kaufman (Bana), but this is unlikely. The PM would not be involved in the operation in this way.

03 Kaufman is a fictional character, believed to be based on the accounts of Yuval Aviv, who was the source for the book *Vengeance* – a key book for the film. But the book has been criticised by those with a history in Mossad and Aviv's credentials heavily disputed.

04 Kaufman's team is also fictional, representing the wide range of moral, ethical, political and emotional conflicts that the story explores. It's also all men, which Mossad veterans say is not how they operated. Women would also be involved.

05 The team is left to its own devices for much of the mission, getting its intelligence from 'Le Group' – a shady independent source. Whether such a group existed is unknown, but the real Mossad mission would've had larger kill teams and full analyst support.

Main image: © Alamy
5x inset image source: DreamWorks Home Entertainment

Did you know?

The origins of the word 'chocolate' can be traced to the Mayan word 'xocolatl'

Main image: © Alamy
Inset image: © GettyImages

XOCOLATL

A SPICY CHOCOLATE DRINK, MESOAMERICA, C.900 – PRESENT

Originally discovered by the Maya, cocoa beans were seen by the civilisation as a gift from the gods. Using cocoa beans, water and spices they made a drink known as Xocolatl, which they considered to be a health draught. When the Aztecs arrived in Mexico in the 14th century, they traded for cocoa beans and began making Xocolatl. As they did not grow their own beans, the drink was reserved for the wealthy. This recipe is made with milk and dark chocolate to make it more akin to the hot chocolate drinks we see today. It can be served hot or cold.

Ingredients

- 500ml milk
- 70g dark chocolate
- 1 red chilli pepper
- 2 tsp honey
- 1 tsp cinnamon
- 1 tsp vanilla extract
- Salt

METHOD

01 Add the milk and chocolate into a pan and heat.
02 Whisk gently until all the chocolate has melted and the milk has a smooth consistency.
03 Add the cinnamon, vanilla extract and a pinch of salt to the pan and continue to whisk.
04 Halve the chilli pepper and remove seeds.
05 Add the chilli pepper to the pan and stir the liquid.
06 Bring the milk almost to the boil and then remove the pan from the heat.
07 Allow the pan to sit for 10 minutes and then remove the chilli pepper.
08 Taste the milk and add some honey if needed.
09 Serve in mugs.

NEXT MONTH THE LIFE OF TUTANKHAMUN ON SALE 6 OCTOBER

HOPE AND HOMES FOR CHILDREN

URGENT APPEAL

Russia's brutal invasion of Ukraine is not just a humanitarian crisis for the Ukrainian people; it's a child protection emergency.

Up to 100,000 children warehoused in Ukraine's vast orphanage system – a network of over 700 buildings – risk being forgotten. Left to face the dangers of war alone as staff flee. As families are torn apart or forced from their homes, many more children are at risk of being separated from the love and protection they desperately need. Worse still, they are at risk of trafficking, or being placed in overcrowded, understaffed and poorly resourced orphanages in border countries.

We must act now.

Born out of the Balkans conflict 30 years ago, we've championed the vital importance of family and community-based care of children and our teams are on the ground in Ukraine, Moldova and Romania to ensure this war does not rob children of the love and protection they need now more than ever. Across all three countries, we're directly supporting displaced families and unaccompanied children with material and emotional support. We're working closely with authorities to keep families together when they are at their most vulnerable and to fight for the safe tracking, monitoring and care for children without parental care. And we won't stop when the fighting stops.

Will you help us by donating?

With your help, we can avert a child protection crisis of epic proportions and ensure children are protected and kept in families. Never orphanages.

To help protect vulnerable children, donate online at: **www.hopeandhomes.org/donate**. Or call **01722 790 111** Monday – Friday 9am - 5pm.

Please quote **FP22 - Kn** when making your donation.

In the event that funds raised exceed what is needed to deliver Hope and Homes for Children immediate and longer-term response to this crisis, we will use donations where the need is greatest.

HOPE AND HOMES FOR CHILDREN

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I enclose a cheque for £ made payable to Hope and Homes for Children or please debit £ from my credit/debit card (details below)

I would like to donate by debit/credit card

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Card no. (Maestro only)

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Signature | Date

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You can view our privacy policy here www.hopeandhomes.org/privacy.

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July Record Highlights*

Utah, U.S., Mormon Pioneer Overland Travel Records, 1847-1868 – **NEW**

U.S., Newspapers.com Obituary Index, 1800s-current – **UPDATE**

Salzburg, Austria, Catholic Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, 1600-1930 – **UPDATE**

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*Record collections subject to change.

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